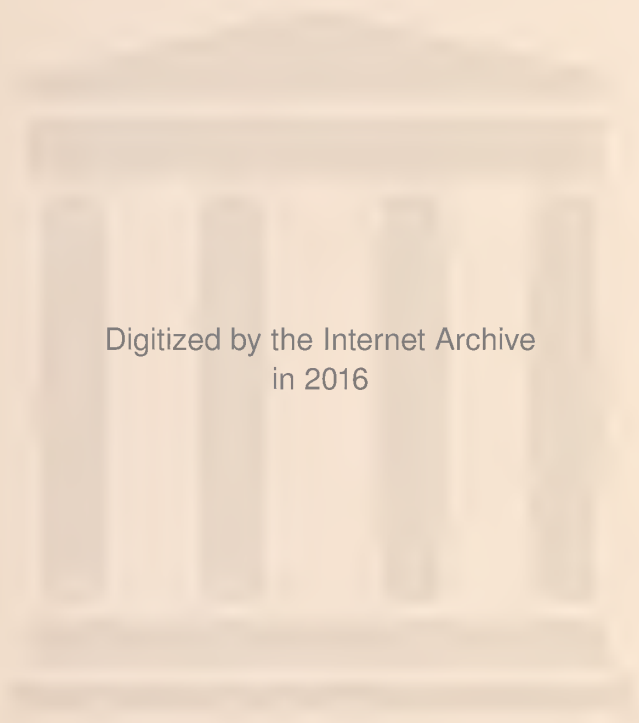


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 VOL. III. — JULY, 1834. — No. 3.

ART. I. *The Chinese classics: estimation in which they are held by the Chinese; divided into two parts, the Sze shoe and Woo king: nine subdivisions, with remarks concerning each.*

Few books are so little known in Europe as the Chinese classics. Though parts of these works have been translated and paraphrased by western scholars, who have very highly extolled both the books and their authors, still these productions of the Chinese sages have never attracted general attention. The causes of this neglect are obvious; they contain so many trivial remarks, and repetitions, and truisms, as to render them uninteresting to foreign readers. Yet no literary works have found so many admirers and been read by so many successive generations of men, as these classics. They have however been confined to the Chinese and to those who read their language. As soon as a boy enters school he commences learning them by heart, and many will recite book after book without understanding a word of their contents. When the tyro has performed this task, the teacher explains to him the meaning of what he has committed to memory, and the pupil forthwith becomes acquainted with the high principles of the sages. With this education the great majority of young men enter into the business of life, and soon forget the lofty maxims of the prince of letters. But whoever wishes to acquire literary rank, and participate in the government of the empire, must study with redoubled energy and perseverance the entire body of the classics. To aid him in his task he is amply furnished with commentaries as voluminous as the works of Thomas Aquinas, and not less profound and intricate. In his examinations for literary degrees, the classics furnish the themes for his essays; and he has only carefully to repeat the opinions of the most celebrated commentators in order to be sure of success. Having once gained proper testimonials of his acquirements in the study of the classics, he claims the privilege of holding office in the government, because he understands the great rules by which the

ancients swayed the empire. Self-interest, therefore, and veneration for the sages, combine to promote the study of these ancient writings, upon which the theory of the government is founded. In the eyes of the Chinese, nothing is more sacred than the text of their classics; it is altogether beyond the whims of criticisms, and the authority of the doctrines which they contain is never doubted. Happy would it be for Christians, if they studied with equal ardor the Holy Bible, in order to become wise unto salvation and to obtain a crown of glory in the kingdom of God. The Chinese classics, properly so called, are divided into two parts, namely the *Sze shoo* or Four books, and the *Woo king* or Five classics. Both of these works consist of several separate treatises, upon each of which we shall at present remark very cursorily, designing hereafter to take them up separately, and to give a summary of their contents.

The *Sze shoo* contains four distinct treatises, and hence has derived its name, *Sze shoo* or Four books. The first of these, the *Ta heō*, is a short politico-moral discourse. *Ta heō*, or 'superior learning,' is at the same time both the name and the subject of the discourse; it is the summum bonum of the Chinese. In opening this book, compiled by a disciple of Confucius and containing his doctrines, we might expect to find a work like Cicero's *De officiis*; but we find a very different production, consisting of a few commonplace rules for the maintenance of a good government. The aspirant who would imitate the ancient princes, must first reform himself, then his family, and afterwards the state; and thus he may arrive at the summit of knowledge, and peace and plenty will pervade the whole empire. This is in other words, *nosce teipsum*, advice which is not to be slighted even in Europe, and which is the sure and only way to effect thorough reform. A part of the *Ta heō* is supposed to have been lost; and to make up this deficiency, and to prove the antiquity and correctness of the part which has been preserved, a few short sentences are cited from the more ancient classics; several of these quotations are mere rhapsodies and have little or nothing to do with the main subject. In the progress of this discourse, we are surprised to find so much said about renovating and polishing our nature; for if man is naturally as virtuous as Confucius represents him to be, such labor is wholly unnecessary. What is the use of precepts and admonitions when the pure and excellent nature of man, always bent on virtuous conduct, must be a sufficient guide?

Next to the *Ta heō*, in the Four books, is the *Chung yung*, or Golden medium. This work was compiled by a disciple and grandson of Confucius; and contains the doctrines of the sage. The *Due medium*, something inexplicable and undefined, is the highest attainment of the sage, who is here represented in his exalted character, participating with the gods in the government of the universe. His unbounded virtue, his perseverance in duty, and his great courage, elevate him far above a mere human being. His words and actions partake of the sublime. Of himself he is what he is; and by his own power and virtue he is constantly rising higher and higher! The

whole work seems to be a panegyric on the sage, and the beau ideal of what a true Confucianist ought to be. With much that is obscure or unmeaning, the work contains many very excellent sayings. It is a curious production of an enthusiast, who wrote in behalf of wisdom, without possessing it himself or understanding its exact meaning.

The *Lun yu* is the third and the most prominent part of the *Sze shoo*. It contains the principal sayings of Confucius in dialogues with his disciples, by whom they were collected and committed to writing. The sage here appears to utter his sentiments without reserve. His actions and manners are delineated with great minuteness, and are held up as patterns for imitation. An unprejudiced European in viewing the renowned sage, would see a common mortal, possessing intelligence and acquirements superior to his countrymen, and an ardent patriot, ambitious of ruling over his nation in order to give a practical proof of the goodness of his principles, but baffled in his best efforts, and deeply affected with the vices of his contemporaries. His age was too degenerate to furnish any illustrious examples worthy of imitation. He referred therefore to the golden times of antiquity, which were long forgotten, and thence drew his maxims, not wishing to introduce new doctrines, but only to maintain the character of a reformer. His *Yaou* and *Shun*, though doubtless real personages, he adorns with all the virtues which he thought requisite in a prince, a father, a child, a minister, and a friend. Having exhausted himself in praising those ancient chieftains, he stimulates his disciples to imitate their glorious examples, and he accepted the situation of prime minister in order to revive their virtuous government. To rule the empire according to the principles laid down by *Yaou* and *Shun* was as easy, in the opinion of Confucius, as it was to turn the finger in the palm of the hand. He believed that if the ancient theory of government was reduced to practice, all the princes which in his time divided the Chinese empire among themselves, would do homage to a virtuous emperor. Having now an excellent opportunity to verify his doctrines, he endeavored to improve the government of *Loo*, his native state. In his new capacity as prime minister, he had partly succeeded and was looking for great success when the neighboring states, becoming jealous of the growing power of *Loo*, disappointed the fond hopes of Confucius. Witnessing the prosperity which resulted from the wise administration of the sage, the rival states determined to check the power of *Loo*, and sent a company of dancing girls to the king of that state, who now yielded himself up to the allurements of pleasure and became deaf to the exhortations and admonitions of his prime minister. Confucius then gladly improved the opportunity which was offered him to resign, and retiring from the cares of state, never again found so favorable an opportunity to demonstrate to the world, that to reform a nation and to rule an empire was as easy as to turn the finger in the palm of the hand! He had now the mortification of seeing, that among all his numerous disciples, there was only one who fully understood and practiced his doctrines in private; and he, alas, died at an early age.

Though thus taught by daily experience that all mankind are averse to moral rectitude, he nevertheless continually extolled the goodness of human nature.

If the sayings of Confucius have been faithfully recorded in the *Lun yu*, he is certainly not free from the charge of obscurity and affectation in his expressions. He studies the utmost brevity and terseness, and frequently the most profound Chinese scholars, without the aid of commentaries, are unable to comprehend the meaning of his sentences. But we must make allowances for the age and the circumstances in which he lived. Even at this day, among the Chinese, a writer can scarcely lay claim to classical taste, unless he is able to couch his thoughts in language so brief and obscure as to require the aid of a commentator to make them intelligible to the common reader. We have seen Chinese scholars treat with contempt treatises on Christianity, because they were written in too plain and easy a style. This notion is deeply rooted in the minds of the Chinese, and will prove a hindrance to the introduction of Christianity, and modern science among this people.

Such is the philosophy of this extraordinary person; and it clearly proves, that fallen man cannot rise to the knowledge of the Creator without the gracious assistance of his Maker. We have heard much of natural religion, but are at a loss where to look for the boasted effects of this wonderful self-existing system. Confucius, who prizes so much the relations of human life, is very deficient in pointing out the duties of a man to his wife. He acknowledges this to be the principal relation of human life, and is not slow to inculcate implicit obedience as the duty of the weaker sex. He does not scruple to tell mothers, wives and daughters, that they stand in the lowest place in the scale of nature; and expatiates on marriage and the ceremonies which are necessary on that occasion. 'Woman is not a free agent;' she is an inferior, dependent being, and lives only for man. In the home of her parents the daughter is kept in retired life, and in every thing must show entire submission to her father; as a wife, her submission to her lord is boundless; as a widow, she must obey the commands of her eldest son. In thus arranging the mutual relations of the sexes, Confucius acted against the laws of nature, and inflicted a severe wound on the constitution of his country. No society can rise above semi-barbarism without the aid of woman; wherever she ceases to be a free agent, civilization necessarily remains in a low state. While Confucius was thus dogmatizing, and heaping opprobrium on man's better half, he divorced his own wife, and wantonly severed that bond which he had declared sacred. His panegyrists strive to extenuate this egregious misdemeanor, by pretending that his desire to acquire wisdom in retirement, prompted him to this step. But is there no wisdom in woman? Does her tenderness and warm attachment exert no salutary influence on the sterner sex?

The duties which Confucius prescribes to the minister and prince in their relative stations, are less exceptionable; the advantage however is on the side of the minister, the sage having once held that

rank, and become acquainted with its duties by personal experience. In all his discourses on this topic, he exhibits a strain of noble sentiments, which is highly praiseworthy, and bespeaks a comprehensive mind and a patriotic and loyal subject. From a statesman of such eminence as Confucius, we might expect a minute detail of the measures necessary for the regulation of a good government. In this however we are disappointed, for the sage who is so particular in giving rules for the due observance of official etiquette, contents himself with laying down the general outline of what he considers necessary for a good government. A prince may indeed be well versed in the art of receiving ambassadors, of giving audiences to ministers, and performing religious rites, and a minister may excel in servility and duplicity, in bowing and prostrating himself according to court etiquette, while both the one and the other are utterly unfitted for the administration of a good government. Etiquette is the grand and all absorbing theme in the political code of Confucius. Virtue and equity are duly recommended by him, but he does not choose to tell his disciples how they are to be applied in political affairs. The Chinese government at the present day, adopting the maxims of the sage, maintains his fulsome ceremonial, and his cant about virtue, justice, and compassion towards all mankind, and especially towards its own subjects, while at the same time it has adopted and carried into constant practice the most arbitrary measures to forward its own selfish views.

In establishing mutual relations and kind offices among friends, Confucius is very laconic; but the little he does say redounds much to his honor. In one instance he recommends general philanthropy. One of his disciples complaining that he had no brothers, the sage said to him; 'All men between the four seas are brothers; how can you say you have no brothers?' He also recommended orphans and widows to the special care of the prince; but says not a word to secure compassion or protection for the poor. He himself was too fond of high life to think of exercising benevolence and kindness towards those who were in humble circumstances. Heartless indifference for the universal welfare of our fellow creatures, is characteristic of the principles of this great statesman. All under heaven are indeed included in the grand scheme of benevolent and compassionate government, yet the poor are left to themselves in their wretchedness. It is indeed true that Confucius commands his disciples to love and assist their relatives, even to the neglect of moral rectitude; yet relationship and clanship are made the barriers to prevent the exercise of general philanthropy; this wise statesman strongly advocates nepotism, and even cites reprehensible instances, which he deems worthy of imitation.

The sayings of Mángtze, or Mencius, form the fourth and last part of the Sze shoo. The great principles introduced and inculcated by Confucius had now been in operation, reforming the government and the nation during nearly two centuries; Mencius, nevertheless, found the politics as well as the morals of the nation even worse than

they were in the days of his master. None of the happy effects, which had been predicted as the sure results of the renovating doctrines were visible; and the new teacher, who was proud of imitating Confucius, set himself to work as a reformer. His addresses to princes were made in a firm tone, reproaching them for unnecessary wars and grievous oppressions. Some there were who listened to him with attention, and reformed abuses; others however turned a deaf ear to his pointed admonitions. We admire the noble conduct of Mencius, which even surpasses that of his great pattern. His style is more diffuse than that of Confucius: some of his contemporaries charged him with verbosity. When he entered on his career, two opposite sects had gained many followers; the one maintained general philanthropy, the other the most sordid selfishness; both of these Mencius gained over to his own opinions. In his political course, however, he was less successful. Though several of the princes, approving of his doctrines employed him for a short time in the administration of their affairs, yet he did not escape their censures. He had a great number of pupils accompanying him, who together with himself required large sums of money from the public treasury. This expenditure brought him in some degree into disrepute. Obligated to retire from office, he wandered about, delivering his lectures at every court he visited.

Mencius was particularly successful in citing ancient examples in order to illustrate his doctrines. Some of his figures and comparisons too were well chosen. He felt for the common people, and advised princes to enjoy themselves in company with the great body of the nation. A considerable part of his works consists of dialogues, which he held with princes and with his friends. Occasionally he is metaphysical, and endeavors to make minute distinctions in the terms which he employs. The theory of a good government, however, is the theme which chiefly engrossed his mind. To obtain universal empire was, in his opinion, a very easy thing; only maintain a virtuous government, and the nations between the four seas, will all gladly acknowledge you as their sovereign. It is very extraordinary that Mencius himself never made the experiment; and it is still more remarkable that his virtuous conduct never induced the princes of that age to call him their lord. In the practical application of principles, Mencius failed, as all Chinese philosophers before and since his time have done. Almost every prince would acknowledge the excellence of his theory; but not a single one was able to reduce it to practice. Mencius saw this deficiency; yet he persisted in maintaining the excellence of his principles and theory, as all the host of his literary successors have done even to this day, their wars and insurrections and turmoils notwithstanding.

Surrounded by admirers, numbering powerful princes amongst their pupils, followed wherever they went by crowds of disciples, and often possessing honors and riches, the Chinese sages had ample scope to exemplify the transforming influence of their doctrines on the nation. Moreover, the renovation of the government and people

was the great aim of all their instructions. In this they utterly failed. But what they gave up as hopeless and despaired of seeing accomplished during their life time, they believed would be obtained after their death, when their virtuous principles should have more and better opportunity to operate. How egregiously they erred in their expectations, many pages of Chinese history can tell us. They may have some claim to the title of sages for having reclaimed their countrymen from a state of barbarism; but their system, like all other merely human institutions for renovating mankind, was very imperfect. Not striking at the root of evil, they were unable to eradicate it. The powerful motive of love to God and man, which constitutes the basis of all good governments and of all good actions, formed no part of their scheme. But we will not blame too much those writers, who were unenlightened by divine revelation, though they might have seen and known that the whole world lieth in wickedness.

We come now to the *Woo king* or *Five classics*, which hold a very high rank in the estimation of the Chinese. Confucius is the compiler of all these works, except the *Chun tsew*, of which he is the author. According to his own statement, he merely gathered together the wise maxims of the ancient sages, which had been transmitted by tradition, and gave them to the world in a connected form. All the sayings and sentiments in these books so much resemble his own, that we are rather slow to regard him as a mere compiler. He doubtless found materials enough among his contemporaries, to form the superstructure of his doctrinal edifice, and he himself possessed sufficient genius to mould the whole into his own views. Some passages are objectionable and at variance with each other. Commentators account for this discrepancy by referring to the general destruction of books which occurred under Che Hwangte, the founder of the Tsin dynasty; their glosses however make ample amends for whatever may have been lost; and whenever paradoxical sentences are found, they do not scruple to explain them in different ways.

Of the Five books, the *Shoo king* is supposed to be the most ancient. It consists of a series of dialogues, designed to give a brief history of China from Yaou till the times of Confucius. The style is more abrupt and concise than that of any other Chinese book. Much of it is so unintelligible, that it is necessary, in order to understand the meaning, first to read the commentaries and then the text. The opinions of commentators on many passages are found to differ widely, and the question, 'What does the author really mean?' often remains unanswered. The conversations are held between Yaou, Shun, Yu, and the princes of the Heä, Shang, and Chow dynasties, and their ministers and statesmen. Many noble sentiments are found among their aphorisms. In every great undertaking the heroes appeal to Shangte, 'the supreme ruler,' and endeavor to gain his approbation to confirm all their actions. The *Shoo king* doubtless contains purer morality than any other work which the Chinese have ever produced. Here we meet with the first, slight traces of astronomy, among the inhabitants of China, which perhaps are as ancient as the Chaldean

accounts. As the Shoo king contains the fundamental principles of the Chinese morals and philosophy, it is worthy of careful attention. After a patient perusal of the work, we are still at a loss to determine what the Chinese really were in ancient times; there is reason to believe, however, that since the days of Confucius, the 'celestial empire' has remained nearly stationary. To the antiquarian the Shoo king must be a highly acceptable work, though he will regret that many passages have been lost and others mutilated.

The Chun tsew, literally, 'spring and autumn,' is a mere chronological table, which embraces the times of Confucius and a short period immediately preceding. The philosopher published this book to improve the manners of his contemporaries; but why such a work rather than a faithful narrative of facts, should have been selected for such a purpose, we cannot even guess. China, at that time, being divided into many feudal states and engaged in constant wars, presented a wide field for the historical writer, who by relating a series of facts demonstrative of the evils of war, might have hoped to repress the spirit of contention. Native historiographers have regarded the Chun tsew as a work of great value. We look in vain to find in it the brilliant talents of Thucydides, who so admirably portrays the Peloponnesian wars; Confucius, however, was not a general or a warrior, but a lawgiver and a man of peace.

Little need be said here concerning the Yeih king, a congeries of metaphysical nonsense. We are aware, that much has been written by both Chinese and foreigners to elucidate the system of diagrams, which have been drawn in explanation of those mystical theories. As it is an utterly false assumption, that the world continues to exist by the influence of the dual powers, Yin and Yang, which is the fundamental doctrine of the Yeih king, the inferences drawn from these premises, must be equally illogical or false. Confucius himself considers the Yeih king as a book which it is difficult to understand; but he intimates, at the same time, that whosoever should comprehend it, would be enabled to know all things. Assuredly if we knew causes and effects in endless succession, we should be enabled to enter deeply into the study of futurity; but to man this knowledge is hidden, nor is the way to it known to him. In point of style, this book of riddles, is lucid. It is full of antitheses, which form the greatest beauty of Chinese writings. The Chinese always endeavor to imitate this mode of expression, and delight to study the style of this classic. Both from the recommendation of Confucius and the hidden wisdom which it contains, it is greatly esteemed by native scholars. Confucius, who was a practical philosopher, does not fail to draw inferences for the encouragement of virtue from the combination of the powers, which operate in nature. We should be inclined to consider the Yeih king a book of fate reduced to a regular system, as destitute of reason as is the belief in fate itself, compared with trust in an overruling Providence.

No part of the classics bears fewer traces of the polishing hand of Confucius, than the She king or 'book of odes.' It is a collection of

national odes divided into three parts, abounding in repetitions, without any practical merits. Popular songs, which were sung by the people and recorded some remarkable event, or alluded to some part of history, constitute the more important part of this collection. Some are amatory verses, religious idyls, &c. Were we better acquainted with the localities, and could we feel the emotions of a Chinese, in reading these expressions of the men of olden times, we might perhaps better appreciate them; but now we can consider them only as curious specimens of antiquity. There is not the same moral feeling prevailing these pieces, which we have observed in the other classics; some passages are even not very decent; the commentators therefore remark, that all the objectionable passages have been interpolated. As a work of general reference, the Chinese view the *She king* with the highest respect. Their most important essays are prefaced by a motto from the *She king*. Confucius himself has adopted this method in his writing, and often proves his reasoning by citing a passage of the odes. He himself recommends the perusal of the work, as adapted to refine the manners of the reader. Europeans who have seen parts of the work in a translation, which improves both the style and the subject, will rather doubt our assertion, when we tell them, that it is very jejune. In poetry, the Chinese have not been able to emulate the inhabitants of western Asia, though they have surpassed them in several other branches of literature. The *She king* however is by no means their best work of this description, though it is the first book of poetry which appeared among them.

The most extensive of the classics is the *Le ke*, or 'book of rites.' It is a code of rites, intended to regulate all the actions, and motions, and behavior of men, their sitting, standing, eating, sleeping, walking, weeping, &c. These regulations are interspersed with excellent remarks upon moral conduct, in no ways inferior to the best maxims in the other classics. The style is more diffuse, repetitions occur very frequently, and the subject is fully discussed. The book consists of remarks and discourses, in which the author answers all difficult questions concerning etiquette and expatiates upon the most important rites. By rites, he informs us, man is distinguished from brutes; but by multiplying them he renders them so tedious that the most perfect automaton is unable to follow them all. He did not perhaps intend to press all as necessary, but to present a whole system for the strict observance of his countrymen, who follow it so far as suits their own convenience. The *Le ke* is a work of great importance in the estimation of the Chinese. The religion of the state is founded upon its principles, and a tribunal is established to secure the due observance of its requisitions. It is considered as the standard of manners. Like some of the other classics it has suffered by interpolations; Chinese scholars complain of this, and some of them do not scruple to despise its authority on this account. Many other works have been written upon the same subject, which altogether afford rules sufficient to transform a whole nation of 360 millions into perfect courtiers. But after all this, it is strange to see

how unmannerly the bulk of the Chinese still remain. This however we would not impute to the Chinese sages, but to the untractable nature of their countrymen.

The Chinese maxims which inculcate filial obedience, and due respect towards parents, and which hold so high a rank in their code of morals, have deservedly obtained the encomiums of foreigners. As far as due veneration and respect towards our progenitors is concerned, the doctrines of Confucius coincide with the law implanted in the human breast by the Creator; but when he requires divine homage to be paid to ancestors, filial piety then degenerates into idolatry. To mourn at the death of our parents, to lament their loss, is the natural effusion of the human heart; but to pray months and years at their graves, to neglect all business on their account, and to perform unmeaning ceremonies in order to show our grief, is unnatural and can never be practiced without hypocrisy. Such however are the commands of Confucius; he repeatedly enjoins the performance of tedious funeral rites, and requires that offerings be made to the manes of deceased parents, and sums up the whole matter by saying, "Serve them when they are dead, as if they were alive." The utmost stretch of filial piety could never strictly fulfill this command. What would life become, if we were constantly to bewail and to serve the dead? We might as well bury ourselves with their bodies, to give a practical proof of our affection, as to remain forever mourning at their tombs. But the views of Confucius were confined to this world; he taught his disciples to "mourn as those who have no hope," and whose existence would cease as soon as they left this present state of being. Confucius never spoke of the immortality of the soul; every thing with him was confined to this world. The philosopher was not consistent with himself. Sacrifices offered to the manes of the departed, imply existence after death; but if the beloved relatives continue to exist, why should the dutiful son be inconsolable on account of their having departed this life? Would it not be more suitable to be consoled with the hope of meeting them again in the life to come? Confucius never dwelt on this subject, nor do we think he was aware of his great inconsistency.

If we were not persuaded that by their own reason, without the aid of revelation, men do not acquire a knowledge of the true God, we might wonder that the same philosopher who labored to lay the foundation of a stable government, by inculcating implicit obedience and unbounded veneration towards the authors of our earthly existence, forgot the almighty Creator from whom the parents derived their life. We have endeavored in vain to find traces of his belief in one God; such an idea seems not to have found a place in his creed. Knowledge and adoration of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift descends, found in him no advocate; he buried himself under the gross system of materialism, and never rose from the creature to the Creator. While he beheld the steady course of the seasons and the splendid firmament, and was struck with the stupendous works of nature and the wonderful vicissitudes of human life, he hesitated to

assign any cause for their existence which was beyond human comprehension. There is a grandeur in the universe which everywhere proclaims the being of God; Confucius felt this, and sometimes gave vent to his feelings in short ejaculations, which indicated the inexpressible sentiments of his laboring mind. Yet his worldly policy and groveling heart stifled his better feelings, and he constituted a system of material powers (yin and yang,) without life or voluntary motion, as the origin of all life and the ruling powers of this world. Such, according to Confucius, is the doctrine of Fuhhe, one of the most prominent characters of the Chinese fabulous era,—but it is in fact a system of gross polytheism dressed up in mysterious nonsense. The starry vault of heaven, however, was too vast and glorious an object to be entirely lost sight of in the reveries of brutal ignorance. Confucius, therefore, independent of his system of the dual powers, and apprehensive lest all adoration should redound to the blue firmament, makes ‘mother earth’ share with the ‘azure heaven’ in the honor of worship. Heaven is supreme, and the earth is next in rank; the former is clothed with sovereign authority, and the latter is placed under honorable vassalage. Infidels may admire the skill and success of the eastern philosopher in eradicating the belief of one God from the breasts of millions of his votaries, but they would be puzzled in hearing him speak of a shangte, supreme ruler, who has a paramount influence in the government of the world; under whose auspices the ancient heroes fought, and to whose bar they appealed for the justice of their cause. In this there may be found a faint trace of the patriarchal creed; but alas! it is dark and confused in the extreme. There are now gods without number, who rule over the air, the rivers, mountains, seas, &c. Confucius disposes of these summarily by commanding his disciples to worship them as if they were gods! But his disciples will sometimes even boast, that their master never gave instructions concerning the gods; and that when reminded to pray during a severe illness, he refused to do so, upon the plea of having already prayed.

ART. II. *Early foreign intercourse with China, as described by Arrian, Ptolemy, the Arabian travelers, Ibn Batuta, Rubruquis, Marco Polo, Oderic, Clavijo, Mendez Pinto, Anthony Jenkinson, and others.*

The empire of China was probably not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the western world. Though their knowledge of all countries beyond what they regarded as the civilized world, was exceedingly confused, like that of the Chinese respecting foreign countries at the present day; yet they were not so ignorant as we might be led to infer from their general silence respecting them. The earliest mention of the Thinx by western writers occurs in a book ascribed to Aristotle, but evidently the production of a later writer. Eratos-

thenes, who lived B. C. 250, placed Thinaë at the end of the earth, bordering upon the eastern ocean. Arrian, after describing an island in the Indian ocean, says: 'Still farther on, towards the north, beyond the sea which bounds the country of the Sinæ, is the great city Thinaë, in the interior; from which raw and manufactured silks are brought to Barygaza by way of Bactria and the Ganges. It is extremely difficult to reach Thinaë, because it lies at a great distance and few go there. Its territories are said to extend to the remote sides of the Pontus and the Caspian sea. On the frontiers of the Sinæ, an annual fair is held for the Sesatæ (Tartars), a wild tribe, who assemble there with their wives and children. They bring for traffic bulky articles packed in mats, and having assembled upon the frontier between their own country and that of the Sinæ, they spread out their mats and make a great feast.'

According to Ptolemy, merchants from India joined by Greeks from Cilicia, assembled for trade with the Seres at a place called 'the stone tower.' From this tower to the capital of the Seres was a journey of seven months. The stone tower stands in a narrow pass of the Behurtag, not far from the place where the Gihon and Yerghien approach each other. The pass is ascended from the north-west; at the left side of the ascent, on the face of the mountain a large rock has been hewn into a regular form. It has two rows of twenty columns each; and therefore called by the natives 'the forty columns;' from foreigners it has received the name of *Tuct Soliman*, 'the throne of Solomon.'

The Chinese did very little in ancient, as well as modern times, towards making themselves acquainted with other nations. It was only when hostile tribes invaded their territories, or the emperors were actuated by a thirst for conquest, that new discoveries were made. Had the conqueror Che Hwangte (B. C. 200) lived and continued to extend his dominions, the Grecians who were settled near the Caspian, would very soon have come in contact with the Chinese. At a later period the emperors of the Han dynasty subjected Sogdiana to their sway, and the empires of the Roman and the Chinese gradually approached each other. But an insurmountable barrier stood between them. The wild, invincible Parthians braved the armies of both empires. While the Romans on the west were endeavoring to subdue these hardy warriors, a Chinese general was sent, (A. D. 94) to attack them on the east. He marched towards the country to be conquered with all the pride natural to a Chinese general; but being told, on approaching the shore of the Caspian, that the passage across it would occupy from five to twelve months, his ardor was cooled, the expedition was abandoned, and he returned in disgrace. No further attempt was made to extend the boundaries of the celestial empire in that direction. An embassy was afterwards sent to the *Ta-tsin kwō*, by which is doubtless meant the Roman empire; but the envoys never arrived at Rome. On their return they reported that beyond the territory of the *Taou she*, (perhaps the Persians,) there was a great sea, by which, sailing due west, one might arrive at the country where the sun sets. This was probably the Mediterranean,

Alexander, when marching towards India, became acquainted with the use of silk stuffs. The merchants of India supplied the western world with this article, till Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, resolving to find the country from which this valuable merchandise came, dispatched an embassy for that purpose. As the way by land was tedious and dangerous, he sent his ambassadors by sea. They reached the place of their destination in A. D. 166; but returned without effecting anything. Had the Bactrian Greeks left us an account of their commercial enterprises, we might have learned something respecting their intercourse with the Chinese. The Nestorians, driven by persecution from the Roman empire, found their way to the most distant countries of the east; but they also, have left us very brief accounts of their travels in China. Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, speaks of the Hunni, and of the great distance from Ceylon to China.

The Arabs at the time of their extensive conquests, became intimately acquainted with the Chinese. As early as the reign of Wahid, (708), an embassy with valuable presents, was sent to China by way of Cashgar. Our readers are aware that an account of China was published by two Arabian travelers, Wahab and Abuzaid, who arrived in the ninth century at Canfu, one of the emporiums on the coast of China, a great resort for Arabian merchants. Ibn Batuta, a pious pilgrim, who left his native city Tangiers in 1324, traveled over a great part of Asia. On his visiting a pious Imam at Alexandria, the latter addressed him saying; "I perceive that you are fond of visiting distant countries; you must visit my brother Farid Oddin in India, and my brother Borhan Oddin in China, and when you see them present my best compliments to them." After performing his pilgrimage, and taking an extensive tour in western Asia, Ibn Batuta arrived at the court of Delhi. Here he became a judge under the sultan Mohammed, and was afterwards dispatched on an embassy to China. A Chinese envoy with valuable presents came at the same time to the sultan, and requested permission to rebuild a large idol temple on the frontiers of Bootan. The inhabitants of the district were poor and dependent for the means of subsistence upon the fertile plains of Bengal, then in possession of Mohammedans, and therefore had petitioned the emperor of China to intercede with the sultan in their behalf. Ibn Batuta was sent with an escort of a thousand cavalry, to carry a harsh reply to the emperor. He was attacked on his journey, and, stripped of every thing he possessed, he returned to Delhi. Having been despatched again, he arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast, where he found fifteen Chinese junks lying at anchor. He tells us that the sails of these vessels are made of cane reeds; in some of them there will be a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers. They are rowed by immense oars, over some of which twenty-five men will be stationed, who pull standing. They have on board culinary herbs which they cultivate in pots ranged along the sides. The captain of such a vessel is a great emir; officers with their wives, reside in houses built on deck, so that such a vessel is a city itself,

Ibn Batuta embarked the embassy on board one of these vessels on the day before they were to sail. During the night a tempest arose which destroyed the fleet; his retinue found a watery grave, and his treasures sunk in the ocean. He remaining on shore to offer his prayers in the mosque, escaped; but after such a failure, dared not return to Delhi. After many adventures, he finally arrived at Sumatra and from thence sailed to China. On his arrival at Zaitun, an emporium, the location of which it is difficult to ascertain, perhaps Tseuenchow in the province of Fukkeen, he was astonished at the good order and industry which everywhere prevailed. Paper money was then commonly used in trade. In every large town he found Mohammedans, who were usually wealthy merchants, having their own officers. After he had been in the country some time and visited many places, disturbances arose among the members of the reigning family, and the khan was murdered. His funeral was a pompous ceremony. His body having been laid in a couch with all the pageantry of imperial dignity, was placed in the grave, together with six of his attendants, four female slaves, and four horses, over all of which a hill of earth was raised. Ibn Batuta returned soon after this to Sumatra.

Before the time when Ibn Batuta traveled in China, the Mongols had carried their inroads to the frontiers of Poland. They were a fair specimen of the people who conquered China. They waged war with all nations. In Armenia and Georgia they met with an obstinate resistance. Having subdued these countries, they wished to turn their arms against the Mohammedans. Innocent IV. thinking by their assistance to wrest the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, sent four Franciscan friars to the Mongolian head quarters in Khowaresm. The Mongol officers were astonished at their shabby appearance, and could scarcely believe that they were the ambassadors of the head of the Christians. They asked them whether the pope knew that the grand khan was heaven's son, and that the dominion of the earth belonged of right to him. The friars pleaded ignorance of such a personage, and added: "All that the pope knows on the subject is, that there is a strange and barbarous people called Tartars, who lay waste every country they visit, and destroy particularly the Christians; and his purpose is to exhort them to repent of their past wickedness and cease to destroy the people of God." The officers surprised at such an answer from the bare-footed friars, asked what present they had brought from the pope to the great khan. "The pope," they replied, "is accustomed to receive presents from all men, but never bestows any even upon his best friend, far less upon strangers and infidels."

Notwithstanding these insolent speeches, they were about to be admitted to the presence of the khan, but being requested to make three genuflections, they refused to do it, except on condition that the khan would turn Christian, alledging that their kneeling to an infidel would be an eternal disgrace to the holy church. Their obstinacy and insolence so enraged the Mongol nobles, that they proposed to flay them alive, stuff their skins with hay, and send them back to the

pope in that shape: but the khan's mother prevented the execution of this horrible design, and they were furnished with a rich supply of provisions for their journey and sent back to their master. But before their departure, they suffered great indignity from the Mongols, who called them dogs, and did not spare their holy father, the pope, in their execration. The Mongols could not conceive why men, whom they had seen worshipping a wooden crucifix, should refuse to kneel before a 'heaven's son;' nor could they understand how the pope, without having performed any military exploit, dared to send ambassadors to the great khan. An insulting letter was addressed to the pope: "If you wish to remain in your land and heritage, you, pope, must come to us in your proper person, and do homage to him who holds rightful sway over the whole earth."

Another embassy was sent at the same time to Baatu khan. Carpini, a Minorite, who was at the head of it, had orders to convert the Mongols, exhort them to repent of their evil deeds, and cease their predatory excursions. This embassy met with a splendid reception, but had to pass between two fires before coming into the presence of the khan. He sent them, weak as they were after fasting during lent, to the great khan. They arrived just when he was about to be installed in his dignified office. Four thousand messengers and ambassadors, who came loaded with presents, assisted at the ceremony. A superb tent had been pitched for the occasion; by the sides of which were arranged five hundred carts filled with treasure; and every thing indicated such wealth and splendor as the friars had never before seen. The monarch treated his poor visitors with kindness, and sent them back with a friendly letter. Carpini was disposed to think the condescending khan a Christian; and having heard of the ceremonies of the Chinese Budhists, which he perceived bore a strong resemblance to some of those practiced by the Romish church, he began to think that this great nation confessed also the Christian faith.

St. Louis while engaged in his crusade to the holy land, received a message from Erkaltay, a Mongol chief, who was carrying on a war with the Saracens on the side of Persia. He, in return, dispatched Von Ruysbroeck, better known by the name of Rubruquis, with other friars, to accept and cement the offered friendship. After visiting the western chief Sartach, they proceeded to the court of Baatu khan, whence they were sent to the grand khan. They found in his camp several European artists; and saw there such a display of splendor as they had not before witnessed. Rubruquis in this visit to China met with many Nestorian Christians; but they were degraded by superstition and vice, and enemies to the sons of what he regarded as the true church.

In the pagan rites of the Chinese, he also, observed the resemblance to those of the church of Rome, which had so forcibly arrested the attention of his predecessors. He traveled through the territories of Prester John, whose memory was then almost buried in oblivion in consequence of his successors having relapsed into paganism. Though the embassy proved unsuccessful, much valuable information respect-

ing the interior of Asia was obtained. Rubruquis had become acquainted with the Dalai lama, and satisfied himself that the rites of his religion must have been derived from a spurious Christianity.

In 1254, Haitho, king of Armenia undertook a journey to the court of the grand khan, or emperor of China, to petition for an abatement of the tribute, which the wide spread terror of the Mongol arms had obliged him to pay. He had no opportunity to become well acquainted with the Chinese, and represents the inhabitants of the celestial empire as haughty mortals, who arrogate to themselves all wisdom, and regard the people of other nations as little better than fools.

The travels of Marco Polo are too well known to require particular notice. In 1288, John de Monte Corvino was sent to the east by Nicholas IV. to promote the interest of popery. He arrived in India and went with a merchant to Cathay, where he presented his credentials and invited the grand khan to embrace Christianity. Surrounded by the hostile Nestorians who were very numerous, Corvino made but slow progress at first. He succeeded, however, in building a church at Cambalu, or Peking, which had a steeple and belfry with three bells, that were rung every hour to summon the new converts to prayer. He baptized 6000 persons and bought, in addition, 150 children whom he instructed in Greek and Latin, and composed for them several devotional books. He translated the Psalms and New Testament into the Mongolian language; and enjoyed the patronage of the grand khan. Pope Clement V. hearing of his success, appointed him archbishop, and sent other missionaries to his assistance. He ordered him, among other things, to have the mysteries of the Bible represented by pictures in all his churches, for the purpose of captivating the eyes of the barbarians and thus leading them to the worship of the true God. Corvino died in 1330, and the hierarchy which he had established, ceased at the death of his successor. Caravans from India and the shores of the Caspian, at the time of which we are speaking, made annual visits to Peking. The difficulty of traversing central Asia was probably less than it is at present. The whole of Bukharia was under the Mongol government, which kept the unruly hordes of its inhabitants in subjection, and maintained order among them.

There is extant a journal written by Oderic, a friar who traveled over the whole of central Asia. He visited China and enjoyed full liberty to go wherever he pleased. At Zaitun he found Minorites who possessed two monasteries, in one of which he deposited the bones of friars who had suffered martyrdom in India, whence he had brought them. The preservation of these relics afforded him great satisfaction; but his sorrow equaled his joy when he saw so many pagan temples where the priests daily served up sumptuous repasts before their idols. While these regaled themselves with the steam of the savory viands, the priests fed upon the substance. The power of the idols being very great, the friar informs us that the Minorite brethren were enabled to work miracles, to prevent the farther encroachment of the powers of hell. Having satisfied his curiosity in

China, he proceeded to Thibet. Here he made his observations with the same simplicity as elsewhere. He was struck with horror at the practice prevalent among the Thibetans, of eating the bodies of their deceased parents; and not a little surprised and perplexed at finding here another pope in the Dalai lama.

During the reign of Timur, the Castilian monarch sent an embassy to the conqueror who then held his court at Samarcand. Clavijo, his ambassador, returned with assurances of the greatest friendship. The successors of Timur, who ruled over Persia, were anxious to conciliate the favor of the emperor of China. Shah Rôkh therefore, in 1419, sent an envoy to the court of Peking, who was joined by ambassadors from Khorasan and the surrounding provinces. The high state of civilization in which they found China, greatly surprised them. In the progress of their journey, according to the account given of it, the emperor furnished the ambassadors, at each of the post-houses, with 450 horses, mules and asses, together with 56 chariots or wagons. Near the frontier they met with a huge idol, 50 feet in length, lying in a sleeping posture. On arriving at Peking they found 390,000 persons assembled around the palace, 2000 of whom were musicians and singers, chanting hymns in honor of the emperor. The pavilions around were hung with yellow satin, embroidered with various curious figures. The throne was of massive gold. On one side were arranged the officers of the court in all their gravity, and on the other, young females with pencil in hand to record the words and actions of his majesty. As soon as the emperor had seated himself upon the throne, which he ascended by silver steps, the seven ambassadors were led forward, and at the same time, 700 criminals in fetters were brought in. An officer read a document stating the object of the embassy, and added that the envoys had brought rare and curious things as presents, and came with the view of knocking their heads in the dust before his majesty. The ambassadors then bowed according to Persian custom, and presented the Shah's letter, wrapped in yellow silk. Yunglô, the emperor, was somewhat aged, but having received a fine horse from the ambassadors, he was induced to go out for a hunt. The spirited animal threw his imperial rider, who was so enraged that he would have killed the ambassadors had not the great officers of his court interfered in their behalf. They were soon after dismissed in peace, but without having accomplished anything in respect to the object of their mission.

After the Portuguese had opened a trade with China by sea, many worthless adventurers resorted to the newly discovered coast. The various feats of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, who was one of the first Europeans that reached Japan, are too curious to be passed by in entire silence. This man after having visited the court of Abyssinia, and been taken prisoner and sold, first to a Greek renegade and then to a Jew, found his way to Malacca. From thence he was sent as ambassador to the Battaks of Sumatra, and on his return suffered shipwreck. He now engaged in the service of Antonio de Faria with whom he and a number of other desperadoes, at length arrived

at Ningpo on the coast of China. While there, they were informed by a Chinese pirate that there was an island situated at some distance to the north-east, where might be found the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, all of gold. They soon set sail in company for the island, which was called Calenphy; but when they had arrived in lat. 49 N., and it grew cold, the Chinese became disheartened and returned.

Faria and his Portuguese companions were not so easily frightened. Though forsaken by their guide, they found the island and plundered the tombs, in which they found a large quantity of silver. The island was inhabited by hermits, who told them that these treasures were placed in the graves to support the deceased kings, who lived eternally in the moon. Before they had removed all the treasure, they were attacked and obliged to withdraw as hastily as possible. On their return a furious gale overtook them, when in the latitude of Nanking, and they were forced to throw their treasure overboard; one of their ships sunk, and the other they run on shore. Only fourteen Portuguese were saved. These were taken prisoners by the Chinese and thrown into a pond where they were almost devoured by leeches. After suffering many other indignities, they were sent to Nanking and there condemned to be whipped and to lose one of their thumbs. They were then conducted to Peking. On his way thither, Pinto had an opportunity to observe the manners of the Chinese, in his praises of whom he is very profuse. Their love of justice and the good order and industry that prevailed among them, appeared to him very remarkable. He met with many Christians in different parts of the country. At Peking he remained two months. Here the adventurers received their final sentence, and were condemned to one year's hard labor at Kwanse; but before the time expired, they were set at liberty by the Tartars who were then overrunning the country. He and his companions now followed the fortunes of their liberators, who were soon obliged to retrace their steps. While with them, they saw the grand talpicor, probably a chief lama, whom Pinto called their pope. He made them all priests and empowered them to give bills of exchange on heaven to all who might be willing to pay for them. They at length left the Tartars, found their way to the coast, and embarked again for Ningpo. But the Chinese captain with whom they sailed, left them on a desolate island, where they almost perished with hunger. They were taken off by a pirate, and were again on their way to Ningpo, when the wind became adverse and drove them to the coast of Japan. Here Pinto ingratiated himself with the natives, and on his return to Ningpo, gave his countrymen so favorable an account of what he had seen, that a large expedition was fitted out for Japan. But several of the vessels were lost, and Pinto was driven to the Lewehew islands. Here they were upbraided with the murder of some natives of Lewehew at Malacca, when the Portuguese took that place. The king had been told that all Portuguese were pirates, and therefore gave orders that these shipwrecked adventurers should be quartered, and their limbs hung up by the side of the highway. From this punishment they were saved by

the kind interposition of some native ladies, and Pinto at length returned to Malacca, broken in spirits and fortune. He again visited China in 1556, and afterwards went on a mission to Japan.

The English did not remain idle spectators of the trade of their neighbors. But thinking themselves unable to cope with the Portuguese in the Indian seas, they endeavored to sail round the northern extremity of Asia or America, to China. Failing in this, they next endeavored, by the favor of the Muscovite czar to find an overland passage to China. A supercargo named Jenkinson embarked upon the Volga in 1558, sailed across the Caspian, and reached Bukharia. But the rapacity and poverty of the natives precluded all hopes of profitable trade. A new effort was made to establish a commercial intercourse with China in 1583. An expedition was dispatched by way of Aleppo, Bagdad, Bussorah and India, furnished with credentials to the grand khan; but after visiting a great part of southern Asia, they returned without entering China.

It is remarkable that the Chinese of the Tang, Sung and Ming dynasties showed far more commercial enterprise than their posterity of the present age. No Chinese junk now goes so far as the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel or even to Calcutta. Indeed few of their navigators know the situation of those places. But under the dynasties just named, a very extensive though tedious trade was carried on with these ports. The petty princes of the Indian archipelago often referred the decision of their quarrels to the emperor of China, who was always anxious to have justice done to the injured party. The emperor Kublai who was bent upon conquest, sent an expedition under the command of Marco Polo, to survey the Indian archipelago. He afterwards fitted out two armies with the design of subjecting the islands to his sway; but both expeditions miscarried, and he relinquished the object. The Indian archipelago, notwithstanding its proximity, still continues to be almost unknown to the Chinese as a nation. The thousands of individuals who visit it, find no encouragement from their government. Chinese, however, are constantly emigrating thither, and the trade is flourishing, but not more than one third as extensive as it would be, were it not for the utter contempt with which the celestial empire treats all intercourse with foreign nations.

ART. III. *Remarks concerning the situation of Canfu, formerly the chief resort of Arabian and other foreign merchants in China.*

When reviewing, in the first number of our first volume, Renaudot's "Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travelers, who went to those parts in the ninth century," we rather too hastily adopted the opinion of the learned translator, that the port of Canfu, which the travelers frequented, was the same as the modern Canton, called by the present Chinese Kwangchow foo.

Further enquiry has convinced us that this is not the case; but that the port which they so highly celebrate is that of Kanpoo, near to the far-famed cities Hangchow and Ningpo in Chêkeäng. Before showing our reasons for this opinion, we will quote the account which is given of Canfu by the Mohammedan travelers.

"Canfu is the port for all the ships and goods of the Arabs who trade in China.* * * *When a ship has got through the *Gates of China*, she, with a tide of flood goes into a fresh water gulf, and drops anchor in the chief port of China, which is that of Canfu; and here they have fresh water both from springs and rivers, as they have also in most of the other ports of China. The city is adorned with large squares, and supplied with all the necessities of defence against an enemy; and in most of the other provinces there are cities of strength fortified in the same manner.* * * They say that in the kingdom of China there are above two hundred cities which have jurisdiction over several others, and have each a prince or governor, and an eunuch or lieutenant. Canfu is one of these cities, being the port for all shipping and presiding over twenty towns."

This description may apply with nearly equal correctness to several ports on the Chinese coast. Canton, then called Kwangchow, Fuhchow, in Fuhkeän, and Hangchow in Chêkeäng, are all situated on rivers of respectable size, which at their mouths widen into gulfs, though none of them are indeed 'fresh water gulfs,' except during freshes. Such being the case, we must find some other circumstances whereby to determine which of these places is designated by Canfu.

None of the cities here mentioned bear names analogous to that of Canfu or Kankhou,* which is given by some Arabian geographers. The sound of Canfu has indeed been thought to resemble that of Kwangchow foo, the middle syllable, *chow* being dropped; but this was not the name of Canton at that period, or at any time previous; no argument can therefore be deduced from the name, in favor of Canton being intended. Near to Hangchow, however, at about 30 miles distance from the city, in an easterly direction, we find a place called Kanpoo, which the Arabs, having no *p* in their language, would change to Kanfoo or Canfu. This place was formerly a sea-port, though its harbor is now filled up by sand. Hangchow being farther up the river, vessels could not reach as far as that city, owing to the sands which choked the passage. Here therefore was the anchorage, and perhaps the ordinary residence of the Arabian merchants. And, by an error natural to persons ignorant of the language, they transferred the name to the neighboring city, to which they carried their imports, and from which they received their exports; as Europeans in later times, have transferred to this city, in a corrupted form, the name of the province of which it is the capital. This will account for much that is said of the greatness of Canfu, which cannot apply to the small sea-port town Kanpoo, nor even to Canton perhaps, which was then and for a long time afterwards but little removed from gross barbarism.

* The Arabic *kh* differs from the *f* only by the addition of a single dot, which accounts for this variation.

Another circumstance that enables us in some degree to determine the place meant is a detail of the progress of a rebellion, which raged for several years and almost destroyed the Arabian trade with China. The account given of it by one of our travelers agrees very well with what is contained in the Chinese annals. The rebel attacked, and after a long siege took and pillaged Canfu, committing great slaughter, and destroying all the mulberry trees. This last circumstance is mentioned by the Arabian: "because the Chinese carefully cultivate the mulberry for the sake of its leaf, wherewith they subsist and propagate their silk worms. This devastation is the cause why silk has failed, and that the trade which used to be driven with it, in the countries under the Arabs, has stagnated." This was about A. D. 877. Both Hangchow and Canton withstood a long siege, and were finally taken and pillaged by the rebels. This account may therefore apply equally to both. But the cutting down of the mulberry trees could be but of secondary importance in Canton, which has never been noted for its silk manufactures; while in Hangchow it would, for a long period, occasion obstruction to an extensive trade, by removing the chief source of its prosperity. It may be owing perhaps to this that we find Canton, about thirty years afterwards, so much enriched by commerce, as to be able to purchase from one of the usurpers a temporary independence, by a gift of foreign commodities to the value of five million taels. The merchants who were driven by civil war from Hangchow, repaired to Canton, which latter city is scarcely heard of for some time after its reduction by the rebels in the year 877. It is therefore with a high degree of probability that we suppose Hangchow and its neighborhood to be the place denominated Canfu.

But we do not depend merely on probability. We learn from Chinese records, that under the Tang dynasty, between the seventh and ninth centuries, an officer was appointed to receive the commercial duties at Kanpoo. Klaproth, extracting from Chinese works, states that "in A. D. 306, Kanpoo had already become an anchorage for coasting vessels. Under the dynasty of Tang about A. D. 720, it had an admiralty. In the time of Yuen, or the Mongol dynasty in China, the counsellor Yang Naeung, who resided at this port, established here a tribunal of commerce, to try and decide cases of difference arising among the merchants, who come here by sea for the purpose of selling their goods." Under the Sung dynasty, immediately preceding that of Yuen, we are told that Hangchow "had intercourse with all nations beyond sea, in the four quarters of the world." It undoubtedly recovered its trade as soon as peace was restored. At the commencement of the Mongol dynasty, Marco Polo was in China, and made a long stay at Hangchow, which having lately been the imperial residence was then called Kinsae (Kingsze). He tells us that "at the distance of twenty-five miles from this city, in a direction to the northward of east, lies the sea, near to which is a town named Gampn, where there is an extremely fine port, frequented by all the ships that bring merchandise from India. The river that flows past

the city of Kinsae forms this port at the place where it falls into the sea. Boats are continually employed in the conveyance of goods up and down, and those intended for exportation are there put on board of ships bound to various parts of India and of Kataia."

Kanpoo is now a walled town a little removed from its ancient site; it is one of the depôts for salt, so extensively manufactured on the east coast of Chêkëäng. The sea has receded here considerably; but Chapoo, a few miles to the eastward, is still the emporium of the Japanese trade. The following account of it is given by Mr. Gutzlaff, in one of his journals.

"On the 8th, we steered for Chapoo, the emporium of the Japan trade. None of us had ever been there, nor were we in the least acquainted with the situation of the harbor. After having rounded the first bold head-land, a large trading place gradually opened, and we perceived a great number of junks at anchor. We could no longer be ignorant of the place of our destination. * * * * To prevent all trouble, we resolved not to go on shore, and strictly to abstain from all intercourse with the authorities. Chapoo, however, looked too invitingly. The city itself is built at the bottom of a bay. The anchorage is shallow, and the junks lie high and dry at low water. There are many fine shops in the suburb; but the streets are narrow and crowded. The principal part of the city is surrounded by a massive wall, which is now tumbling down, and has considerable breaks." For further details see the *Canton Register*, vol. 6, nos. 12 and 13, and the *Chinese Repository*, vol. 2, pp. 30, 31.

ART. IV. *The profession of letters in China; motives to engage in it; great number of unsuccessful candidates; portrait of an unsuccessful one.*

The profession of letters in China is adopted with a view to office in the civil service, to attain the judge's bench and magistracy; or, perhaps, the government of provinces; or, it may even be, a seat in the ministerial cabinet, guiding the councils of the great emperor himself. Such elevation is possible to the poor scholar, the humble student of Confucian principles; and, tempted by the prospect, almost every family of a little property dedicates one or more of its sons to the study of books. But of the myriads of candidates throughout the empire, a few only can attain the degrees which render them eligible to office; and of those who are so far qualified, but a very small number are actually chosen to office.

But those who are not chosen, and who have property can, of course, get on well enough in the world; others are usually a burden to their kindred or their friends. Some become private tutors or public schoolmasters; but the frequently recurring examinations for higher degrees call persons away from these duties; and they seldom do well, unless they abandon the profession and pursuit. He who

lives in the country, if he has attained the *seu tsue* degree, must repair, however distant his residence, to the provincial chief city, to be examined for the next degree, that of *keu jin*. And he who has acquired this degree must repair, every three years, from the extremities of the empire to Peking, to try for the *tsin sze* degree. In this manner a man's time and resources are frittered away; and, if unsuccessful, he passes through life a continual prey to disappointment. Besides there is a pride of caste cherished by these *tuh shoo jin*, or book-reading men, as they call themselves, which is a hindrance to their entering on any useful calling. They would rather beg of their kindred and friends, or even of the public, in the character of 'gentlemen scholars,' than put their hands to some useful occupation. It is to be regretted that the government allows such an idle course of life as is that of the unsuccessful candidate, by at length rewarding those who without merit, have persevered to old age in this unproductive occupation,—rewarding them with the degree they have so long sought, when its attainment has ceased to be advantageous.

The following is a portrait of a living, unsuccessful Chinese scholar. "A few days ago a man, about forty-eight years of age, with a respectable head, but clothed in filthy, ragged, worn-out garments, passed and repassed before my window, now and then looking up. Being engaged, I took no notice of him at the time. The next day he came again, and seated himself on a stone opposite to the window, looking up occasionally. Observing this, I sent a servant, one of his own countrymen, to ask him if he wished for anything. The man returned, and said he was a north-country man, and did not want anything; he was waiting for somebody. Knowing the unwillingness of natives to reveal the truth to each other, I sent and asked the poor, ragged stranger into the house, that I might speak to him myself. He came, and as soon as the back of the other Chinese was turned, he knelt down before me, and knocked his forehead against the floor, then rose, and unrolled a dirty paper containing a statement of what he was.

"He was a native of Fuhkeën province a *keu jin* graduate, and had been thrice at Peking, trying for the next degree, without success. He had exhausted all his own money, had tired his friends by repeated application for money, and had tried to earn a little by writing scrolls and papers, but could seldom get above 200 cash a day; he had not sufficient food, and his raiment had been gradually reduced to what I saw. The other day he wanted to kneel down in the streets and beg of me, but Chinese were constantly passing, and he was ashamed. I gave him a dollar to satisfy his immediate want of food; and bid him come again in two days, that I might have time to think what to do for him. I then sent natives to enquire about him. All they could learn was, that he was one of those north-country men, who being friendless and without employment, sink into a state of beggary; instances of which frequently occur. There was no suspicion of his being a bad man.

"He came, according to appointment, in the same filthy rags,—

but having his head clean shaved and his beard dressed. I had been thinking how to clothe him, and feared it would be expensive should I employ my own people, who would make a job of it and take a large percentage. I therefore asked my beggar-friend himself, for what he could get a second-hand suit of clothes. He immediately made a minute estimate of the cost of each article, and thought that for two dollars he could dress himself in a summer suit of clean second-hand clothes. Pleased at being able so cheaply to supply his wants, I gave him three dollars. He returned in about two hours, bringing a complete suit, neatly wrapped up in paper, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar left. Yesterday he appeared in clean, decent raiment. I conversed two hours with him, concerning Formosa, Ningpo, Soochow, Peking, &c. He is of course acquainted with his native dialect, Fuhkeën; he also converses in the mandarin dialect, elegantly. He read and wrote in my presence. I have no doubt of the general truth of his story. His father held the office of cheheën for many years, from which he retired about twelve years ago, at the age of 80, having acquired or saved only about 6000 dollars. Part of this he distributed among three sons, of whom my friend doctor *Ting* is one. Allured by the fame of its riches and liberality, he came to Canton. He has *thrice* been assisted to repair to Peking, to seek higher honors and office; but he almost despairs of further aid, for how, says he, 'can I hope that heaven will rain down 300 dollars.*' However, he means, next year, to try his patrons once more. If he fails this time, *Ting* intends to abandon the pursuit, for he will then be in his 50th year;—he will then conclude that it is his destiny to be poor. Like most of the Confucianists, he is intellectually a proud, self-sufficient fatalist, apparently resigned and yielding, but not humble,—giving up exertion, and submitting to opposition, but with undiminished pride of spirit. For these men never take blame to themselves, but charge all the ills that befall them to their destiny.

"Such is a specimen of an unfortunate Chinese literary adventurer. He has classical learning, but not much useful knowledge, beyond an acquaintance merely with what he has seen. He asked me, when we sail beyond England, and go as far as it was possible for us to go, what it is we at last find—on the supposition that earth and ocean are a plane surface! As long as China secludes itself from the rest of mankind, it must remain ignorant and conceited. If men were merely brute animals, the present policy might be a wise one; but since a rational nature is characteristic of men, the Chinese certainly injure themselves by their exclusiveness."

* A keu jin graduate, joining with three or four others, can go to Peking and come back for this sum. The candidates are allowed to pass the custom-houses without being searched; and they wish to be at court about twenty days before the examinations commence, to recover from the fatigues of the journey and refresh their memories a little with the classics.—Many of the men of Keaying chow are barbers, and exercise their skill in this way on the road to Peking, instead of spending the whole time in unprofitable journeying.

ART. V. Agriculture of China; its antiquity, laws regulating it; obstacles to improvement; the soil and temperature of China; irrigation and manuring; implements of husbandry.

The Chinese have always held agriculture in high estimation. Unlike their neighbors on the north and west, they have remained stationary age after age, not wandering from their homes unless compelled to do so by invasion or famine. Their early records speak of the tillage of the earth in such terms as evince a considerable acquaintance with its principles. The husbandman has been honored above other classes of laborers, and the fabled founder of agriculture, Shinnung, 'the divine husbandman,' was one of the 'three sovereigns' who flourished in China, previous to the rise of the five great emperors. For many of the ages immediately following this date, the history of agriculture was that of the country. In these early times the fundamental maxims of the science were established, which as far as we can learn from succeeding history, have been practiced to the present day. By pursuing this course for a long period, China found herself in wealth and population far in advance of all her neighbors. The only sure way of advancing and securing a nation's prosperity, by the cultivation of the soil, has been understood by the Chinese, and successfully practiced, from time immemorial. The ancient emperors themselves ploughed the soil, and the empresses cultivated the mulberry trees. The annual ceremony of ploughing, performed by the emperor at the present day, has a great tendency to elevate the occupation of tilling the soil in the estimation of the people. They there see a man, who is thought but little less than a god, and by far the highest person in the world, condescending to show them that they are not forgotten.

The laws at present in force, regulating the affairs of agriculture, the transfer of lands, &c., are substantially the same as in the days of Confucius. Although each dynasty has promulgated its own laws, still the models of them were found in the ancient books. By these laws the emperor, after the patriarchal mode, is declared universal landholder, and all lands are held in occupation directly from him. The possessor can be ejected at will, but he is allowed to remain as long as he can cultivate the soil. Thus the same spot of ground descends from father to son, for a long succession of generations. Whenever a man is registered in the lawful possession of a spot of ground, all the improvements and crops are guaranteed to him. Many who possess more land than they wish to cultivate, lease it to others; who give a part of the produce as rent. The greatest part of the land cultivated in China, is held in this manner. Mortgages are also known among the Chinese, and on any secretion of the property or fraudulent evasions, the land reverts to government. Lands occupied by soldiers cannot be mortgaged. One peculiarity about these houses is, that at the end of the time, the mortgager can recover his land,

by paying the original consideration, and the mortgagee cannot refuse to deliver up the premises. All unregistered land can be cultivated by any one who applies, if he shows that he is able to fully occupy it. There are no game laws nor fishing privileges, and the use of rivers, lakes and canals are open to all. The land tax is paid, partly in money and partly in kind, according to the nature of the produce, and the wants of the government. Evasions of the taxes, either by the officers or from false representations on the part of the landholder, are punished by confiscation and blows. The rate of taxation, however, is altered, when the land becomes unfruitful, or it is remitted when freshes or droughts have deprived the husbandman of the fruit of his labors. Destroying the instruments of husbandry is punished the same as thefts, except branding.—These laws, which are now in use, are extracted from Staunton's translation of the penal code; some of them have been slightly modified by various clauses, but their general effect is not altered by these exceptions.

Considering the regard paid by the Chinese to all customs and modes of operation which have the sanction of antiquity, and which are found easy in the execution, we cannot expect that the general plan of conducting agricultural pursuits at present will differ very much from what it was in ancient times. The strictness with which filial duties are enjoined upon the young, and the habitual deference paid to whatever has the sanction of a parent, also renders the introduction of any improvement extremely difficult. The great articles of consumption, and the manner of raising them are the same now as thousands of years ago; the implements of husbandry the same; and in the eyes of a Chinese, both are perfect. If improvements, manifest and simple, were proposed to a Chinese husbandman, the proposer of them would be immediately referred to ancient custom, and to the usage of his fathers, and this would be an end of all controversy. The force of custom on the minds of the Chinese will be a great bar to their improvement, particularly in agriculture. Experience has shown, that a supply of food can be procured, and a numerous population supported, by an adherence to the ancient mode. And if manual labor is always to be used for animal, it may be well doubted whether these objects can be obtained more perfectly than they are at present. To obtain as large a supply of nourishment as possible in the simplest manner and from the smallest space, is the great end of Chinese agriculture. And to effect this, the land is subdivided into such small portions, that the entire energies of the laborer are directed to a spot not many times larger than the tenement he occupies. Here he must live or starve, and we can easily perceive that he would not be much inclined to waste either land or labor in venturesome experiments.

The soil of China is as diversified as its climate; the general characteristic of it, however, is great fertility. This fertility is in a good measure artificial, being made so by the amount of labor bestowed upon it. The aids afforded by nature to fertilize the country are improved to the best advantage. These are the long rivers which flow from the mountains on the western side of the country across to the

ocean, and which are intersected by numerous canals throughout their whole lengths. The mountainous regions are not so high as in Hindostan, neither are there any deserts of sand as in Central Asia. The situation of the elevated land is such as is favorable to the formation of rivers, while at the same time it is accessible to cultivation. The forests which cover some parts of the mountains in the western provinces contain valuable timber, especially those kinds suited for cabinet work. Notwithstanding the numerous population of China, tracts of land are found in various parts of the empire, which support scarcely any inhabitants. Some of them are in the vicinity of large cities. The existence of such wastes is owing to the ignorance among the people of those principles of agriculture, the application of which would render them fertile. The most of them are marshes which need draining and manuring. To effect this requires an outlay of capital which would be nearly thrown away to the adventurer, or the return would be very distant. The price for which food could be afforded, raised on such lands, would be far more than that grown in more favorable situations. Some of them support a scanty population of wretched looking beings, who barely subsist. There are also small tracts of sandy plains, but in general they support a small growth of pines.

The temperature of China in general is moderate, being softened in winter by winds from the ocean, and mitigated in summer by those which come from the mountainous regions on the west. In the northern parts, the cold is often severe and continued for a long time. At Peking the thermometer sinks to 20° below zero; in the south, the heat during the summer, ranges from 75° to 96° , and in winter, from 30° to 55° . Very violent winds frequently occur about the time of the autumnal equinox, but the rest of the year is mild. The face of the country, as far as the observation of travelers extends, is diversified by hills and valleys, rivers and canals, cities, villages and hamlets in an almost unlimited variety. The absence of large forests is a peculiar feature in the landscapes of this country, neither are there any solitary mansions to be seen pointing out the abodes of opulent landholders. Every thing artificial has nearly the same aspect in each province; yet the numerous villages, the narrow canals running in all directions with a wide river meandering through the fields, both spotted every where with innumerable boats, together with terraced hills, clumps of graceful bamboos, extensive grounds covered with rice, often a large city, and a tall pagoda standing here and there like watch towers on the tops of hills, render a landscape in China a peculiar scene.

The Chinese have been well called gardeners instead of agriculturists, for they are almost entirely ignorant of those principles by which agriculture could have been placed on a scientific foundation. The great requisites in their system are manure and water, and to obtain these their whole energies are devoted. The soil is rarely allowed to lie fallow, and in most parts produces two crops annually. It is assiduously pulverized, and different soils are also mixed together to im-

prove the quality of both. They will carry sand for a long distance to mix with a clayey, heavy soil, and loam to put with that which appears too loose. During the few months of winter in the southern provinces, the soil is sometimes thrown up into heaps where it has been mixed with some vegetable matter, thus making a kind of compost and also presenting a larger surface to the air. After those lands which require flooding, are covered with water, they are hoed and turned over until the whole surface is reduced to mud; this process has a still further fertilizing tendency,

For manure, the Chinese collect every thing of a vegetable or animal kind that can possibly be applied to such a purpose. Reservoirs of brick or wood are dug in the banks of the field near a canal, into which every refuse substance is put. The principal one has a roof over it, and is plastered that the contents may not be absorbed into the earth. Besides this principal one, large vases of stone-ware are sunk in the ground at convenient places for the use of passing travelers. The children and poor people are continually employed in collecting refuse vegetable and animal matter with which to fill up these receptacles; the sweepings of streets, hair from the barbers' shops, offals from the butchers', feathers, horns and bones, which are reduced to powder, soot, and the deposits of creeks and rivers are all industriously gathered up, and thought sufficiently valuable to be carried a great distance, especially if water carriage is convenient. The dung of all animals is esteemed above any other kind of manure. It often becomes an article of commerce in the shape of small cakes, which are made by mixing it with a portion of loamy earth and then thoroughly drying them. These cakes are brought from Siam, and they also form an article of commerce between the provinces. They are never applied dry, but are diluted in as much animal water as can be procured. Ashes are employed in fertilizing the soil, as are also lime and old plaster. The latter is esteemed of such value as sometimes to induce a farmer to replaster an old room that he may fertilize his fields with it. Lime is sparingly used, except in destroying weeds, but its stimulating qualities are well known. In applying manure to the soil, care is taken that it shall have its full effect. Before being taken out of the receptacles in the field, it is suffered to become half putrified, in which state it is put upon the plant. Some seeds are put into manure until they have germinated, while others are planted enveloped in their appropriate manure. After the plant has grown a few inches, it is again manured with that which is much diluted. The effect is immediately apparent in an accelerated growth. On the seacoast, fish and sea-weed are used to some extent as manures. Still, after every thing is employed that can be procured, the supply is inadequate to fertilize the land.

The means adopted to irrigate the land are such as combine in a high degree, economy and utility. The numerous branches of the rivers which flow through the country are easily united by canals. These latter again branch off into smaller streams leading into every field and garden. By uniting them to other canals, a current is

formed, which together with the constant agitation caused by the boats, keeps the water constantly fresh. The digging of most of them requires but little more labor than the mere excavation, since there are no towpaths for draught animals, and but few locks are needed.

The bridges which are thrown over canals are, for the most part, structures of great solidity, being built of stone. Some of them have arches that are high and beautiful; those constructed over the grand canal, are fabrics that would do honor to any nation. There is one crossing a lake which joins the grand canal near Hangchow foo in Chêkeäng that is said by Barrow to have about ninety arches, and that at Fuhchow foo is also a noble structure. Some of those which cross the sluices in the grand canal, are on wheels. When a boat is about to pass, the bridge is rolled off, the loose spars on which it runs taken away, and the planks composing the gate raised by a capstan, and the boat goes through with the current. To pass stationary bridges, the masts of the boats are constructed so as to rise and fall at pleasure. In the construction of the common bridges over small creeks, the main object is durability; heavy buttments are built on the banks, and also in the middle, if the width requires it, and these are joined together, either by a slight arch or by horizontal tiers of wood or stone. Wooden bridges are common, built similar to those of stone.

The repair which is needed by the canals in the course of a year is but little, except they have been injured by freshes. The boats are always furnished with a scull, and are usually propelled by it; this mode gives so little injury to the banks that they are seldom defended by wood or stone. Where the tide ascends the streams, sluice gates are made in the banks of the adjoining fields, which allow every tide to cover the grain; the water is easily retained or permitted to flow off at the convenience of the farmer. The terraces are watered in a variety of ways. Whenever a rivulet is found issuing from the sides of the hill, it is assiduously conducted into little channels, and not suffered to escape at the bottom, till it has watered every plat. For the convenience of watering the terraces, there are usually reservoirs near the top and at the foot of the hill; from the latter the water is raised into the upper levels by wheels or by hand. When it is done by hand, two men are employed, who stand on either side of the reservoir, with a pail between them; to this vessel is attached long ropes, which are fastened to it near the middle. By giving the pail sufficient impetus, and standing a little above the level of the reservoir, the water can be raised with great expedition. When the water is raised by wheels, the buckets are usually attached to its circumference, and discharge the water at the top. The machine, except the axis, is made entirely of bamboo; it is placed so as to turn by the force of the current, and some of them will raise one hundred and fifty tons of water in twenty-four hours to the height of forty feet. Where the ascent is less, chain-pumps of a simple construction are used, which are worked both by men and animals. A single bucket attached by a rope to a long lever, which turns on a tall post as a fulcrum, is also employed to raise water.

The cultivation of the sides of hills by terraces, for which the Chinese are peculiar, has, from the manner in which it was treated by writers, been greatly exaggerated. In general, only the most favorable hills are chosen, such as have a good soil, and a moderate ascent. The terraces are walled up by stone, and the banks being used also for paths become in time very firm. When there is a natural stream of water, sluices are made in the banks, through which it can run. The number of different levels made, depends entirely upon the attending circumstances. The tops of the hills are generally occupied with graves; for the Chinese always endeavor to bury their dead on eminences, that the bodies may be beyond the reach of water or insects. In the neighborhood of large towns, this predilection would render the ground as valuable as it would become by cultivation. When the soil is thin, the hills are left for pasturing their flocks and herds, which are few. In those places where the ground between the hills is marshy and sterile, and the population numerous, the latter are covered with terraces to the top.

Rows or drills are almost always employed in planting, the mode of sowing by hand as in other countries being seldom practiced. The previous preparation of the soil is done mostly by man; buffaloes are used to assist him in ploughing and harrowing. When practicable, the rows are put in the direction of north and south. Reaping is performed by means of knives of the shape of a bill-hook, and mowing, where it is needed, is done with the same instrument. In gardens, the seeds are planted in beds, and two crops of vegetables are obtained by planting one among the other, but which come to maturity at different times. Garden vegetables of all the common kinds known in Europe are raised, such as cabbages, turnips, onions, cucumbers, &c.; and in the south the list is increased by a number of tropical fruits, as the egg-plant, banana, sweet potato, &c. Besides the many esculent plants cultivated, a great variety of others used either in medicine, in the arts or for show, are raised. Among such, may be mentioned cassia, indigo, the mulberry, rhubarb, tobacco, fruits of all descriptions, and flowers innumerable. The cultivation of some of them, as indigo, rhubarb, cassia, is confined to particular districts, while others are universal, as tobacco. The fruits are usually inferior in their flavor to those of Europe, except those which are indigenous. The mode of increasing the flavor by grafting is known, and in some places, it is frequently practiced. Water plants which are used as food are extensively cultivated, thus occupying land which would remain waste. The banks of the canals and rivers are often seen planted with water chestnuts (*Scirpus tuberosus*), with taro (*Arun esculentum*), or with the nelumbium. The lakes in the province of Honan are nearly covered with these aquatic vegetables. In the northern provinces, millet is sown in damp grounds.

The utensils of the Chinese farmer are very few and simple. The object of most of them is merely to direct manual labor, and not to reduce it. The plough is without a coulter, and has only one handle. The share is made of iron, and attached to the handle by a withe of

bamboo. It is usually drawn by a single buffalo, and is held in such a position that the furrow is not more than four inches deep. The form of the share is much like that of a spade. There are also other kinds; one is a light implement used in making furrows in the beds of gardens, and is drawn by hand; there is another employed in stirring up the soil in flooded fields, which is carried in nearly a vertical position, and drawn by a chain fastened near the share. To perform most of his operations in gardening or farming, the Chinese employs the hoe; and by practice he has learned to apply it to almost as many uses as there are separate instruments in other countries. Trenches either for water or between beds in gardens, are dug with it; a considerable part of the turning over the soil is done with it instead of the plough; and in fine, for most of the purposes a Chinese husbandman wishes to accomplish. It is usually about a foot long and five or six inches broad, and trimmed with iron; for turning over the soil to mix with the manure, it is often divided into three or four prongs. The common harrow of the Chinese is similar to a large rake; it is drawn by buffaloes, who are directed by a man sitting over the teeth; there is also another one with several rows of teeth. In soft soils, as paddy fields, they sink to such a depth, as in a great measure to supersede the necessity of ploughing or hoeing the land, and as the teeth are near each other, they at the same time clean the ground from old roots.

The use of carts in agriculture is wholly superseded by the boats on the canals, except in the northern provinces. Those there in use, even for pleasure, have only two wheels; and those employed by the farmer are so low that the wheels have no spokes. Burthens are carried in the south by porters on land, and by boats on water. Thrashing is performed in several ways. Almost every village has a public thrashing ground, as have all the principal farms. Flails similar to those in western countries, and also animals, are employed in thrashing the grain. It is cleaned of its chaff by means of fanning mills, and also by shaking it in the wind. The paddy or unhulled rice is deprived of its husk by being rubbed between two cylindrical stones. These stones are of various sizes, and are usually turned by hand. The instruments employed for expressing the oils obtained from various seeds are numerous. One made on the principle of a trip-hammer, falls into a wooden bowl in which the seeds are placed. The same principle is also extended, and several hammers are elevated by a long cylinder, which is turned by means of a water wheel. The seeds are placed in a trough, and the whole machine requires but little attention. Another mode employed for the same purpose is to press the seeds in a trough hollowed out in a circular shape. The weight is suspended from a beam above and has a wheel at the lower end of it, which runs in the trough. By pushing the weight horizontally, the wheel presses upon the seeds through the whole length of the trough. In all the mechanical operations of the Chinese, simplicity and cheapness are conspicuous; but to save manual labor by the use of machinery, seems to form no part of their economy.

ART. VI. *Free intercourse with China; present situation of the country; remarks on it, by Staunton, Marjoribanks, Auber, and by writers in the Quarterly and Westminster Reviews, Spectator (London newspaper), and Alexander's East India Magazine.*

The day is not very distant, unless we mistake the signs of the times, when a well regulated intercourse will be established between China and the nations of the west. The present condition and attitude of this empire are unnatural and utterly opposed to the spirit of the age. Hitherto in China the rights of man, even those which are unalienable have been trampled on and disregarded: but so they cannot always be. Once indeed there were exclusive rights among the nations: but since the advent of the Prince of peace, the rights, as well the duties of men, have been placed in a new light. From the eleventh century to the seventeenth, the march of freedom in England had no parallel; and from her borders there went out an influence which is elevating and ennobling the world. The republic of North America, composed chiefly of her sons, has joined her in the march of improvement. A similar spirit, mighty and uncontrollable, is rising up in France, Germany, and other places on the continent of Europe; and like the united power of mountain torrents, seems destined to remove every obstacle that impedes its course. Who that has witnessed the changes which have taken place during the last few years in France, England, Egypt, and throughout the Turkish dominions, can believe that there is any thing in China which will not give way to the spirit of reform? Where can men be found more fierce and desperate than the Algerines? Where is the monarch that is more haughty and obstinate than the Sultan? And where are there any superstitions more deeply rooted than those which lately required the burning of widows in British India? Limited indeed must be their views who do not see that the great changes which are taking place in the earth, are not the result of mere human wisdom and powers. The work which has been accomplished under the guidance of divine Providence, is a sure pledge of what shall hereafter be achieved, and that even China will be brought down (or more correctly, will be exalted) to stand on a level with the nations of the earth. The present situation of China as it regards herself and as she stands related to other countries, should be carefully considered.

China is not a free country. That the empire is independent, and that the authority of the body politic, which is concentrated in one man, is complete and supreme, are points which none perhaps will dispute. But what are the constituent parts of this great nation, and how has it been formed? Two centuries have not yet elapsed since the ancient provinces were overrun by foreigners, who conquered the inhabitants, subjected them to the disgraceful tonsure, and to this day hold them in bondage. The conquerors have indeed framed a code of laws for the government of their subjects; but both the one

and the other are entirely the creatures of a despot's will. The emperor is supreme, and neither law nor subject can control him. In many respects the laws are good; but in others they infringe the laws of nature—the laws of God; for they deprive men of those rights which render him a free agent and contribute in the highest possible degree to personal happiness. If the people will bow down and worship wood and stone, and their rulers too, well and good; but if they presume to worship heaven, or as they ought to do, Him that dwelleth therein, they violate the laws of the land and incur the heavy penalties of chastisements, imprisonment, or death. Never would we evil affect the minds of the Chinese towards their rulers, nor reproach them for the bondage in which they are held; but we cannot do justice to the subject which we discuss without exhibiting the full state of the case. Thousands of the sons of Han, who feel the galling tyranny that grinds them to the very dust, know that it is unjust.

However wrong the internal condition of this country may be, that which is external, and by which it is, or ought to be, associated with the other great and independent nations of the earth, is still more unjust and indefensible. Continually boasting of her benevolence, justice, and tender regard towards all that dwell between the four seas, China habitually stigmatizes them as fierce and crafty barbarians, and treats them as enemies. She knows no equal, and in all her intercourse with foreigners proceeds on the principle that they are in every respect far inferior to the inhabitants of the 'celestial empire.' In her own view she is the sun and the centre of all; and upon her all kingdoms of the earth are dependent. The simple maxims, that nations are moral persons, and that each has perfect equality in sovereignty and social rites with every other, she treats with contempt. Hence the duty of nations to sue for and assist each other, to cultivate mutual friendship, and to cherish as far as may be, an honest and frank intercourse with others, she entirely disregards. The broad rivers that flow through her territories, nay, even the 'great ocean' which is contiguous to her coasts, she will not allow other nations to share in common with herself. She expels from her presence and drives from her borders all who approach her, except they come as supplicants. The petty nations around her may bow down their heads in the dust before her sovereign and do him homage. The nations of Europe, by especial permission, may sometimes participate in the same privileges. But they must not presume to seek anything more: Thus, notwithstanding her lofty pretensions to justice and kindness, she does not in fact even allow avenues to be opened for reciprocating friendly offices. The right which every nation has of sending ambassadors to negotiate with foreign courts, and ministers to reside at them, China disallows, and thereby cuts off the only effectual means of establishing and maintaining friendly intercourse with other nations.

Such is the present attitude of the Chinese empire: and when viewed in connection with the spirit of the age and the present position of Christendom, leads us to the conclusion that a change must speedily take place; a change which will result in a well regulated

intercourse between this and the other nations of the earth. The present state of affairs cannot be viewed with feelings of approbation, and there is no reason why it should be tolerated. The pope is wont to denounce as heretics those who do not submit to his authority; the Mussulman solemnly pronounces all men to be outlaws who do not embrace his faith; and, the impiously so styled, 'son of heaven' declares those rebellious and perverse, who, without especial permission, dare approach the borders of his empire, and seek to hold friendly intercourse with its inhabitants. But who now heeds the thunders of the Vatican, or the anathemas of the false prophet? They have lost their power; and the 'flaming edicts' launched from Peking to drive foreigners from the coast are equally harmless. As well might 'the one man' prevent the swelling tide from rolling in upon the shore, as maintain forever the present system of excluding foreigners from the ports of his empire. The system is too unnatural and too unjust to be long perpetuated in an age like this. Causes are in operation which are hastening the destruction of exclusive rights, and the introduction of a new order of things. The eyes of the nations are now turned towards China.—Great Britain, on account of the changes in her commercial relations with this country, has given the fullest expression of feeling on this subject, and her press has, during the last two or three years, been fruitful in productions respecting a country hitherto far too little known. Among those productions, we shall briefly notice a few of the most recent date.

No man living in Europe is probably so well acquainted with China as sir G. T. Staunton; his opinions therefore, are deserving of the first attention. Before the British parliament, in June 1833, he stated that, "it is not easy to estimate the vast field which would be opened to the enterprise and the industry of the manufacturing and producing classes in England, if such an improved understanding could be effected between the governments of Great Britain and China, as might lead to a free and unrestrained intercourse of British subjects with the ingenious and industrious population of an empire, exceeding, in respect to numbers, extent, and natural resources, the aggregate amount of all the nations of civilized Europe." The whole foreign commerce now carried on with China, amounting to \$30 or \$35 millions annually, is by no means inconsiderable; but this amount, we think, might be doubled, and even trebled; and nothing but unnatural restriction prevents it from being thus augmented. Our limits forbid us to give sir G.'s resolutions entire; the chief points on which he dwells are these: 'that the port of Canton is one of the least advantageous in the Chinese dominions, either for exports or imports; that the trade, instead of being regulated by treaty and under the protection of public functionaries at the capital, is wholly abandoned to the arbitrary control of the Chinese local authorities, and is by them subjected to many very severe and vexatious burdens, and to various personal restrictions and privations of the most galling and oppressive nature; that these evils are wholly attributable to the nature and character of the Chinese government and not to any want

of proper spirit and firmness in the agents of the East India company; that in abrogating the authority of the company in China, it is indispensably necessary that a greater instrument of protection be at the same time substituted for it under the sanction of a national treaty between the two countries; that notwithstanding the ill success of all complimentary embassies, there is no insurmountable obstacle to such an arrangement; that in consequence of the liability of homicides being committed by foreigners, it is expedient to constitute a British tribunal upon the spot for the trial and punishment of those who may thus offend; and that it is of the utmost importance that all legislative measures, in any manner affecting a branch of commerce, at once so valuable and so capable of improvement, and yet so precarious, should be founded on the fullest and most impartial consideration of all the circumstances of the case.'

We will next notice the 'Observations' of sir J. B. Urnston, who from 1819-20 till the appointment of sir W. Fraser in 1826-27, was at the head of the British factory in China. The object, which sir James had in view in making his observations, was to show the situation in which foreigners are placed in China, and to impress on the British government at home, the necessity of removing the trade *entirely* from Canton to some more northern port of the empire; or, should this not be accomplished, to adopt measures to place it on a basis more secure and honorable than that on which it has hitherto rested—"measures," he says, "which must be undertaken sooner or later." This remark was made previous to the opening of the free trade; "the adoption of that measure, renders it," in his opinion, "still more imperative that some very distinct understanding should be entered into between the British and Chinese governments, touching the intercourse between their respective subjects; an intercourse which will now be considerably extended, from the additional number of British ships and persons that will, in all probability, frequent the waters of China, and consequently the chances of casualties by homicides, &c., will be considerably multiplied."

Proceeding on the great rule in commerce that it is best 'to choose the point where the merchant can buy the cheapest and sell the dearest,' he shows "that Canton is one of the very worst places in the empire, which could have been chosen as an emporium for the British trade; and the evidence which he adduces to prove his position is most ample and satisfactory. He cites, as Staunton does also, the statements of Mr. Ball, 'the late very intelligent and able inspector of teas in China, who wrote an ingenious pamphlet to show that the additional expense of the company's black teas alone, owing to the inconvenient overland transportation to Canton, amounted annually to £150,000. He names Ningpo and Hangchow as the most central and convenient places for British commerce; but however desirable and important either these or any other places on the main land might prove, he is "decidedly of the opinion, that an insular situation like Chusan, would be infinitely more so." Sir George Staunton is likewise of the opinion, that 'it may be expedient (though

only as a last resort,) to withdraw the trade altogether from the control of the Chinese authorities, and to establish it in some insular position on the coast, beyond the reach of acts of oppression and molestation; where it may be carried on securely and honorably.' Surely, to confine the intercourse with the Chinese to an insular position, or to limit it to a single port, should be done only as a *last* resort.

In reference to national intercourse and the situation of foreigners in Canton, sir James has the following very pertinent remarks: "It has been argued by many, and the doctrine is maintained by almost all persons in Europe who are ignorant of the actual state of things in China, that if we choose to trade with China, we are bound to submit to such regulations as that country may think proper to frame as regards foreigners trading with it. This is all very plausible, and at the first view may appear but reasonable and just. No one for a moment will, of course, attempt to deny to the Chinese the right of framing regulations for the guidance, and to a certain extent the control, of foreigners resorting to their country; and if such regulations were of a reasonable and just nature, even with a considerable latitude allowed on our part for the peculiarities and the jealous policy of the Chinese, there would not perhaps be any just grounds for insisting on an alteration in the system of our trade, and in our general intercourse with them." He again says, "neither our trade nor general intercourse with the Chinese is carried on under those established and reasonable regulations, such as usually attend our commerce in other parts of the world; but on the contrary, such laws and regulations, as do exist, (if the arbitrary system of the Chinese can be so termed,) touching the foreign trade at Canton, are altogether vague and undefined; the consequence is, that our valuable and important Chinese commerce is, at all times and seasons, at the mercy of the caprice and rapacity of the local authorities and their subordinates.*** It cannot but be deeply lamented and deplored, that our intercourse with China remains on its present footing, and that a trade of such magnitude and importance should continue to be carried on under such disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances, subject as it is at all times to sudden interruptions either from the capricious conduct of the Chinese government, or from accidents, such as no caution, vigilance, or judgment on the part of Europeans, can avert or prevent."

Mr. Marjoribanks after a residence of about twenty years in this country, and a long connection with the select committee of the British factory, became its president in 1830, and early the next year, on account of ill health, embarked for England. In a spirited letter, published in December last, a short time before his death, and addressed to the right honorable Charles Grant, he corroborates the statements given above, that the port of Canton is one of the worst in the empire for foreign commerce, and portrays the state of affairs here

in vivid colors. Those who are unacquainted with China, may charge him with severity and exaggeration in the account which he has given of the Chinese government, but they will find it difficult to disprove his statements. He might indeed have spared some of his remarks in regard to what the hong merchants once were; had he said less however concerning what they now are, he would, we fear, have concealed the truth. Their situation is by no means enviable. By the local government they are held responsible for all the acts of foreigners visiting this port, however little those acts may be within the sphere of their control; moreover, they are pronounced to be the only proper medium of communication with the government. "It becomes, therefore," says Mr. M., "the unremitting endeavor of the hong merchants to keep foreigners within the severest restrictions, and to prevent any enlargement of their privileges which may infringe on the rights of their own monopoly. Although, therefore, their existence depends upon foreign trade, they are the greatest enemies to its improvement or extension. They resort to the lowest means of fraud and deception to impose upon foreigners, and do not hesitate at the assertion of the grossest falsehoods in representing their conduct to the government. Such is a part of the system to which British merchants are compelled to submit in China."

Concerning native authorities he speaks in terms not more plain than just. "Most of the offices of government are put up to sale, and sold to the highest bidder. The salaries are very inadequate, and the possessor of the office naturally looks to remunerate himself by corrupt practices for the sums by which he purchased his appointment. It may safely be asserted, that there is no officer of the Canton government whose hands are clean, or who is not at all times ready to infringe the law which it is his nominal duty to uphold. Is it possible, let me ask, to apply the principles which regulate our national intercourse with the nations of civilized Europe, to a government constituted as this is? *** It may be broadly and safely asserted, that for the last ten years no foreign merchants, except the E. I. company have traded in conformity to Chinese proclamations."

He next adverts to the extensive trade now regularly established at Lintin. "The importation of opium is most violently denounced by the edicts of the emperor and all subordinate officers of government, many of whom are the persons by whose connivance, and sometimes by whose immediate instrumentality, the trade is carried on. Here we have China and its rulers exhibited in all their weakness, presumption, and corruption, professing strict maxims of virtue, which become strongly contrasted with their gross immorality, affecting high political principle which they do not feel, and thundering forth proclamations which they never expect or wish to see obeyed. The vice of opium-smoking is principally practiced by persons in the higher ranks of life. The palace of the governor of Canton was recently burned down by his secretary having retired to rest with his opium pipe, and so set fire to his apartment. The emperor's eldest son, the heir expectant of the empire, is said to have died from excessive indulgence in its use."

Mr. Auber's account of 'British and foreign intercourse with China,' published in January last, in an octavo of 420 pages, drawn chiefly we presume from official documents, will be found a valuable book for those who wish to learn what the situation of foreigners has hitherto been in this country. The publication of the work is very opportune. One short extract from the 'concluding remarks' will show the style and spirit of the whole: "In contemplating the future, it is impossible not to be struck most forcibly at the entire change about to take place, in the total abandonment of the system under which our intercourse with China has been so successfully carried on. The measure, however, be the results what they may, is the act of the nation; scarcely a voice was to be heard out of the court of proprietors, in opposition to the new system, in which the current of public opinion, and the assumed interests of commerce, have led the nation to embark. * * * If the results prove favorable, and it is fervently to be wished they may, the country will owe them to herself; but, if adverse, she has herself alone to blame."

The writer in the Quarterly comes to the subject with the mingled feelings of wrath and despair. O tempora, O mores! "The deed is done for evil or for good. By the omnipotence of the British parliament, the Yellow sea, which for ages has been, with few exceptions, a *mare clausum*, will become from the 22d of April, 1834, a *mare liberum* to all the world, the ships carrying convicts to Botany bay not excluded." Who the writer of this article is we do not know; "he may or he may not be" suffering severely by the new arrangements; "the old Chinese goose may or she may not have taken wings before he had gathered a sufficient supply of her golden eggs." Be this as it may, he feels intensely and writes keenly. He is grieved at the ignorance of Mr. Marjoribanks; laughs at Mr. Baynes for taking it into his head to bring his wife to Canton, falsely representing him as "narrowly escaping a Chinese cage;" admits that it would be very naughty for the Chinese to worship the devil, but has reason to believe they do not; extolls the veracity of the hong merchants and the goodwill of the local authorities; is horror-struck at the imprudence of the addle-headed politicians, the free-traders; and as for the ill-judged voyage of the Amherst, he laments that men like Lindsay and Gutzlaff, "with talents worthy of a better cause," should have ever engaged in such an enterprise. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that things ought forever to continue as they are, all intercourse strictly interdicted, and the whole commerce confined to one place; "for," says the Reviewer, "we are inclined to think that any port on the eastern coast, if granted, would be found infinitely less accessible, secure, and convenient, than Canton."

In reading the article we marked several paragraphs with the purpose of noticing them separately; but our limits forbid; and one must suffice. "The viceroy of Canton," he says, "being a gentleman, will not deal with such opprobrious and uncalled-for epithets as 'barbarians' and 'devils;' expressions never used in such a sense, and the imputation of which tends only to create unjust, and utterly un-

founded, prejudices against the high officers of the Chinese government." To maintain this position, the reviewer thinks it necessary to write a long philological note, in which he says, '*quei* signifies spirits, or demons, and as they (the Chinese) have both good and evil demons, it is probable enough that they may apply the latter to us (foreigners); but who are they that make use of the expression *fan quei*, foreign spirits—or devils? Not the viceroy of Canton, but the very rabble of that place: we doubt if the expression is even known at Peking.' The 'very rabble' of Canton, who always when speaking of foreigners use the words *fan kwei*, or some other similar term, excuse themselves by pleading the example of their officers, who habitually use the terms *fan kwei*, *kwei tsze*, *hung maou jin*, &c.; and 'Chinese gentlemen,' if the hong merchants may be so named, do the same. Had the writer of the Quarterly taken the trouble to examine the archives of the late emperor Keenlung, he would have ascertained that the 'opprobrious and uncalled-for' epithets are known at Peking; and had he only gone to the custom-house at Canton, he would have there found the 'grand hoëppo' writing *devil ships*, on the records of his office, imperial edicts to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Westminster Review for Jan. 1834, contains an article on the voyage of the "Amherst," in which the writer gives his opinion concerning free intercourse "with this vast portion of the globe, which for exactly two centuries has been locked up in disgraceful thralldom." "British trade and enterprise," he says, "which have been poured into India, during the last twenty years, overcoming all difficulties, have found their way into China and produced their wonted effects,—increased activity, increased knowledge and liberality." "With respect to the extension of European commerce to other ports than that of Canton, it is very clear that there exists now no obstacle whatever, except what arises out of the fears and jealousy of the Chinese government." "There cannot be the slightest question, but that the free-traders will in a very short time be established in the ports of Amoy, Fuhchow, Ningpo and Shanghai, indeed, along the whole coast, up to the head of the Yellow sea." The gentle writer of the Westminster praises Messrs. L. and G., and likewise 'the projector of the voyage;' but thinks the latter guilty of 'most absurd foolery' for not filling the Amherst with a cargo of opium! He jokes Mr. L. for "packing tea in glass bottles," and finally concludes that, 'the report of the Amherst's voyage, if printed by the dealers in cheap publications, would be almost as entertaining as Robinson Crusoe; and introduced on the stage as a pantomime, might nearly rival in success the heroic drama of the arctic seas.'

The remarks in the Spectator for January 4th, and in Alexander's Magazine for February of the current year, seem to have been called forth by the publication of the orders in council,—touching future intercourse with China; and by the appointment of lord Napier to Canton as chief superintendent. Many of the remarks are unnecessarily severe; and some of them are erroneous. The writer in the

Magazine states, that opium on arriving at Canton occasionally bears as high a price as £500 per chest. Probably not a single chest has borne so high a price for the last ten years. The current prices are now less than \$700. The writer in the *Spectator*, after specifying what he supposes the new authorities will be in China, says: "It will be strange indeed, if all this national parade— diplomatic, fiscal, magisterial, and judicial—does not alarm the already half-frightened Chinese government, and produce in due course as pretty a little quarrel as could be desired; which pretty little quarrel will render eligible the presence of a large fleet and army; which fleet and army will find, first the capture of a town or two, then the occupation of a province, and finally the conquest of an empire, not a difficult and certainly an agreeable employment." A copy of the orders in council is before us; but it appears that a part of them have been 'revoked, rescinded, annulled, and made void.' And as lord Napier has now arrived in China, we will defer giving any account of the system of superintendence until it is seen in operation.

What course foreigners ought to pursue in regard to the Chinese, is at this moment a question of deep interest. The measures of the British government (the only one which stands forward in this case,) appear to be of a decidedly peaceful nature. Such surely they ought to be. At the same time, great frankness, boldness, decision, and independence, coupled with good-will and perhaps also a degree of pomp and state, will be indispensable. The exact course which ought to be pursued, however, cannot be marked out. The same rules which regulate national intercourse elsewhere, cannot be taken for a standard here. "Is China then," asks the writer in the *Quarterly*, "is China, because she refuses to enter into commercial intercourse with foreigners, to be put without the pale of international law?" No; 'that deed is done,' and 'she has herself alone to blame.' As well might the reviewer talk of putting the monarch of the forest out of the pale of civilized society, as question about placing the emperor of China and his subordinates beyond the influence of international law. As far as it was in their power, the Mantchou conquerors extended their dominions. And it is only because 'foreigners are rude and uncivilized, crafty, perverse and ignorant of reason and propriety, that they do not tremblingly obey the laws and usages of the celestial empire. Rights they have none; and it is solely on account of the boundless favor of the son of heaven that they are not annihilated.' In this way the Chinese reason. And judging of others by themselves, they suppose that if England or any other nation had the power to take possession of this country they would do it. Therefore, knowing something of the strength of Europeans, they fear them and strenuously oppose all attempts to open a free intercourse. Hence it becomes exceedingly difficult to know how to deal with the Chinese. Their minds ought to be disabused; and while they should know that other nations are equal to themselves, they should have the fullest demonstrations that foreigners can be not only just but friendly;—nay, that they are not only able to reciprocate, but ready to communicate.

The forth-coming Commercial Guide contains a paper concerning the 'laws of nations,' which bears forcibly on the question under consideration. It is there shown from Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, Ward and others, that there are in fact no laws of nations, so called, susceptible of universal application. 'The laws in which the Chinese mind will acquiesce, are a few essential principles of universal equity, and even here it is difficult to get them to agree to a few principles as data, from which to reason. They legislate for foreigners, and act towards them, under the tacit belief that they are *enemies*. Hence even at Canton, any further intercourse of natives with foreigners than is absolutely necessary for trade, is in the eyes of the law, held to be *traitorous*. The pope and his nuncios resemble most the emperor of China and his imperial commissioners, in claiming universality of power and precedence derived immediately from heaven. To consider the *wang* or king of England equal to the *hwang-te* or emperor of China, appears to the Chinese a contradiction in terms. This government will not allow any other monarch to use the term emperor. You might as well have two popes, or two suns in the heavens, as two emperors. As for republic, there is no word in the language to denote such a state, or title for its chief magistrate.' "Names and titles are often represented as vain things, not worth disputing about; which would be true if no consequences resulted. But if the Greek calls a man a barbarian, and then treats him as an enemy; if the Turk calls you a dog, and then treats you as such; and if the Chinese call you a tributary, and then deny you all reciprocity of right;—under such circumstances names and titles become of consequence. Contemptuous feelings suggest contemptuous language: the modern *fan kwei*, or foreign devil, with *kwei tow*, 'devil's head,' for a king's profile on a dollar, are only continuations of the *kwei fang*, 'devil's regions,' applied by the sage Confucius to foreign nations of which he was ignorant."

We quote again from Mr. M.'s letter to Mr. Grant. "The changes," says he, "which have now been made in appointing king's instead of company's representatives to Canton will, as far as the Chinese government is concerned, be regarded by them with assumed indifference. But you must not expect that your superintendents, under present circumstances, will be received with any more regard or attention than those previously appointed by the East India company. A proclamation will be issued by the viceroy of Canton, saying, that 'these barbarian foreigners, ever prone to change, have altered their system; that the company is dead, and that king's consuls are hereafter to be responsible persons in China; that the celestial empire regards such changes with indifference, but that the newly appointed foreign devils must tremblingly obey its immutable laws.' These are the terms and conditions on which your king's representative now goes to China.***The mighty changes now determined on—for they deserve the name, when you are about to apply them not only to our intercourse with the Chinese empire, but to Japan and the many other interesting nations of eastern Asia—must to a certain extent be the work of

time, and their progress gradual. Many circumstances have, however, been assisting in their promotion. Above all things, our increased knowledge of their languages, and the further instruction of our countrymen in these, will, I trust, receive from you every encouragement;—with a view to a more extended trade it is imperatively essential. An admirable institution was some years ago founded at Malacca by Dr. Morrison, called the Anglochinese college, which from an unworthy jealousy, I fear, of missionary establishments, has never received that encouragement to which it was entitled. About forty Chinese students are annually educated there in all the general branches of useful knowledge. Religion is not compulsory, but voluntary. The sons of a common peasant at Malacca thus receive an education superior to those of the emperor of China. It is, I trust, unnecessary to point out how great the advantage of Chinese so educated, annually returning and mixing with the general society of the empire. The greatest benefit also will result from the efforts of a free press at Malacca, from which have already issued many excellent works in the Chinese language. Let me entreat that your attention be given to these subjects, too long neglected in eastern Asia, but calculated to accomplish greater ends than either our fleets or armies.”

Forbidding as the present aspect of affairs may appear in the eyes of some, our own hopes and expectations for the future are high. One and another class of men, or set of measures, may fail; but the cause of right principles does not depend wholly on such contingences. Obstacles and opposition will meet at every step those who seek to open and establish a free and well regulated intercourse with the Chinese. It may be expected as business proceeds, that altercations and collisions will occur; and that seizures of innocent persons will take place, which will lead to violent disputes. And these things may not be confined to Canton, but may be extended to many other places along the coast. To meet and overcome all such difficulties will require no ordinary abilities. The situation of Lord Napier is one of peculiar responsibilities; the British government, perhaps, could assign to no man a more arduous service, and at the same time one which affords greater opportunities of doing good. He has no precedents to follow; and no line of conduct can be marked out which will ensure success. In such an untried field, human strength and human policy alone will be vain: to Him, therefore, that ruleth among the nations, let the whole cause be commended; then the results will be safe and glorious.

ART. VII. *Religious intelligence.* 1. *Malacca*; 2. *India*; 3. *Karens of Burmah*; 4. *controversy*; and 5. *translations of the Scriptures.*

1. *Malacca.* By a letter from Mr. Tomlin, dated May 15th, we learn that his new school, on the model of the British and Foreign school in London, “commenced operations with about seventy chil-

dren, Portuguese and Chinese," and that the "number soon increased to about one hundred, (including an adult class,) made up of four nations, Portuguese, Klings (or Kalings), Malays, and Chinese." Many of the scholars were very young and ignorant, and some of them of a wild untoward spirit. "The school was divided into eight classes, consisting of boys all on a par with respect to the English, each having to begin the alphabet; the head master was consequently destitute of those useful little subalterns, (monitors,) to be found in every school on the British system in England. However, the want of these has been partly compensated by two out of three native teachers qualifying themselves by diligently picking up the English, and getting ahead of the boys, so as to become useful monitors to their own boys at their English lessons. This they have done most willingly without the least solicitation, prompted apparently by an earnest desire to make themselves acquainted with our language, although neither is young, and one of them, the Portuguese teacher, is advanced to grey hairs." Mr. Tomlin's plan, it should be here remarked, includes a large central English school with others subordinate, corresponding to the variety of nations congregated. For the central school a building is in progress, and those now in use need repairs. In stating the aggregate amount of expenditure likely to be incurred, Mr. T. thinks they shall "not be far wrong in fixing the minimum at 900 dollars. Towards this sum, contributions have been made, principally by friends in Malacca, to the amount of \$400. Monthly subscriptions to the amount of ten dollars have also been obtained; but as this sum will be quite inadequate to pay the teachers' salaries, &c., we trust other friends will favor us with their names as monthly subscribers. All persons contributing one or two dollars, will have the privilege of sending their children to be instructed free of any further charge, and of recommending as many native children as they please for admission to the institution."—As the school is to be a *Christian seminary*, that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation will be sedulously inculcated. It will be the teacher's principal and constant aim to teach all the boys to read and understand the Old and New Testaments. Other branches of human science, such as writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, astronomy and history, will come in their place and order.

2. *India.* We have received the Calcutta Christian Observer, down to June, the Oriental Christian Spectator, and the Evangelist and Missionary Reporter to May; all of them abounding with interesting intelligence. It is difficult not to feel, while perusing those periodicals, that a mighty spirit is abroad on the plains of Hindostan, and that the old foundations of idolatry are breaking up. It seems to us, however, that the number of missionary laborers—preachers and teachers and distributors of Bibles and tracts—is a thousand times too small.

3. *The Karens of Burmah a remnant of the ten tribes of Israel.* The Calcutta Christian Observer for May, 1834, contains a communication from the Rev. Francis Mason, in which the writer advances

the opinion that a part of the lost ten tribes of Israel are found in the Karens of Burmah and Siam. This opinion he supports by the facts that they have a Jewish look, that they generally pluck out their beard while the people around them do not, and that their dress is decidedly that of the ancient Hebrews. The evidences, however, on which he thinks their identity with the ancient Israelites must rest, is found in their religion. 'They worship the eternal God, Jehovah; they have traditions of Old Testament Scripture facts, as the formation of the woman and the fall of man, &c.; they possess the morality of the Scriptures; they are wanderers and consider themselves cursed by God for their disobedience, but were anciently his most favored people, as they believe they are destined to be again; they have been preserved from idolatry, though residing among idolatrous nations and subject to persecution; they are expecting to be restored to a glorious city; they are expecting a king or Savior who will lead them to a high degree of prosperity; and finally, their readiness to receive the gospel is unprecedented in modern times.'

4. *Dispute and controversy.* The following paper has been received, addressed to the Editor.—Sir, In your No. for May, you give with marked approbation the opinions of a missionary concerning the duties devolving upon himself, and his mode of performing them. And he is given as an example. He says "I avoid *dispute* and *controversy*, and preach repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the only hope of salvation." By this, both he and you mean to condemn dispute and controversy. There may be various reasons for this resolution in the mind of an individual. He may be a very poor reasoner, and therefore it is better to avoid controversy. He may love his own ease, and let the world wag as it likes; therefore he will never contend with it. But, if we wish to form our opinions of missionary duty from the Bible, and the experience of all ages, there can be no sentiment less supported than that it is the duty of missionaries generally to "avoid dispute and controversy." Did patriarchs or prophets, or the Savior, or his apostles, or the reformers of any age, find it practicable (though they might be the meekest men upon earth,) to avoid dispute and controversy?

The Scriptures, especially the gospels and the epistles, are replete with disputation and controversy. But not to multiply witnesses in a case so plain, take the Acts of the Apostles, the memoirs of the first missionaries, men inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit, whose conduct is an example to all the churches, throughout all succeeding ages. And they too were the most successful missionaries. At Ephesus, did not Paul go into the synagogue, and speak boldly for the space of three months, *disputing* and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God," and after that continued "*disputing daily* in the school of one Tyrannus?" Although he had been shamefully treated at Philippi, was he not at Thessalonica "bold in his God to speak unto the people the gospel of God, with much *contention*?" Did Luther and his compeers, effect the glorious reformation

by avoiding disputation? In my judgment an able and zealous disputant, who can distinguish trifles from essentials, and so reason as to convince the gainsayers, is just such a person as every mission should possess. A man like Stephen, who "when the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians and of them of Cilicia and Asia, rose up and *disputed* with him, they were not able to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake." However, Paul's disputing subjected him to mockery and insult; and therefore the missionary who wishes to get along in peace and comfort, may avoid disputes and controversy. But the resolution of a missionary never to dispute, is about as wise as that of a soldier never to fight.

Your's truly, —.

Note. If others understood our correspondent as meaning "to condemn dispute and controversy" when explained in the words of St. Paul, "disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God," and "disputing daily," in the school of Tyrannus, they mistook his meaning; at least we did not so understand him: *dialogomenos* means discoursing, preaching, reasoning, arguing; as in the following examples: 'and as Paul was long *preaching*;' 'and as he *reasoned* of righteousness, temperance, &c.;' 'he *reasoned* in the synagogue every Sabbath day;' '*preached* unto them, ready to depart on the morrow.' Our correspondent did not, we think, mean to condemn conduct like this, for then he would not have added, "I preach repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the only hope of salvation." "I avoid dispute and controversy" taken alone, might mean all that —, contends for; but the writer was speaking of "going unadvisedly into their temples, and of crowding himself on the notice of the people when they were displeased with his company;" and he seems to have had in mind, 'perverse disputings' and 'strifes of words whereof cometh envy and railings' and those foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, which Paul commanded Titus to *avoid*. But however poor our reasoning may be, we fear, we are giving too much proof that we are not wholly averse to 'disputing;' the truth is, we agree with —, in his argument for contending boldly for the truth. The resolution of a man, however, always to dispute, would be as wise as that of the soldier to attack and knock down every one he meets.

5. *Remarks on translating the Scriptures:* from a correspondent. Mr. Editor,—In the Bombay auxiliary Bible Society's fifteenth Report, for 1833, pages 16 and 17, there are a few remarks on the choice of native words for Scripture translations, which I should like to see transferred to the pages of the Repository for the guidance and encouragement of Chinese translators. For there are some persons who magnify difficulties to such a degree, as to insinuate the idea that whatever is imperfect is useless;—a doctrine by the way, which puts a complete extinguisher on all human efforts whatever, excepting indeed the efforts of those who belong to the infallibles. The remarks are these:

"In the translation department, it is evident that all new translations (however great the talents, care, and caution of the translator), may be liable to many imperfections. On this account persons of sound judgment have been of opinion, that the circulation of our earliest translations would be attended with harm rather than benefit, from the mistakes in the choice of words which they contain. But your

committee cannot but think, that supposing the premises to be quite correct, the conclusion by no means follows, that the circulation of the old translation, even with all its imperfections, will be attended with no benefit. On the contrary, the facts related in the course of the present report, and in all former ones, afford most pleasing and encouraging instances of the benefit that has actually resulted from its circulation. With respect to the choice of native words for our translations, it must necessarily happen, that in teaching a totally new science in any country, such as the Christian theology in a heathen land, the terms used often stand in the relation of technical terms; and therefore must be as it were coined for the purpose. In this difficulty the only thing that can be done, is to use the greatest judgment and caution in selecting such words, or modifications of words, as in the native language come nearest to the new idea intended to be conveyed.

“After all, however, it is to be observed, that the choice of these words cannot ultimately turn out of that very great importance which might at first sight appear. For, after all that the translator can do, the meaning of these new words, or which is the same thing, old words in a new sense, must be understood by the native, from the context rather than the text. For if an utterly strange word, or even a known, but ill-chosen word, occurs again and again, always in the same connection, and always with the same meaning, it is surprising how soon the human mind will as it were, lend itself to the meaning intended, so as not to remain long under any serious misunderstanding, except such as is wilful. On this subject, above all others, it may be said, where there is the will there is a way; where there is an honest desire to understand, the mind will not long remain under any material error. But no words, however well chosen, can obviate wilfulness; and in the mean time, lesser mistakes and misapprehensions must be expected, till time has established conventional terms suited to the Christian theology.”

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: death by opium, and opium brokers; inundation; new chancellor, and new British authorities in China; fire at Peking; Thibetan envoy; inundation in Keang-soo, and foreigners at Yarkand.*

July 2d. Death by opium. Two young men, Asoo and Achang, the first 25 and the second 24 years of age, put an end to their earthly existence by taking opium. Aid was sought from the gentlemen at the Dispensary, but it was too late; the poison had taken so deep effect as to forbid the application of the stomach pump or any other means for their restoration.

Tuesday 7th. Opium brokers. The Chinese laws against the use of opium, and against the cultivation of the poppy and all traffic in the drug, are it is well known, most severe and explicit. It is equally well known also that many of the dealers in the article carry on their transactions with almost as much publicity as if no prohibitions existed. This is effected by the payment of certain sums to those officers who ought to carry into strict execution the imperial laws; occasionally,

however, there is a difficulty in determining the amount that shall be paid. Such a difficulty lately occurred between his excellency the governor of Canton, and two of the principal brokers Yacukew (Yeükow) and Gowkwan (Owfoon). More money was demanded than there was a willingness to pay; accordingly the check on the law was taken off, and a detachment of soldiers, two hundred strong, made a descent on the houses of the above named individuals. They fortunately for themselves, had absconded; but their families with all their effects were carried off. Three of the inmates of one of the houses, it is reported, were drowned in attempting to escape in a boat on the river.

Tuesday 15th. Inundation. The effects of the late inundation have proved far less calamitous than was anticipated. Though the water rose eighteen inches higher than it did last year, the damage both to property and to life has been far less than on that occasion. The injury to the fields has not been very great, and the prospect of plentiful harvests is fair. In the western suburbs of this city, a great many houses have fallen, and hundreds of poor people have been driven penniless into the streets. Some small donations have been made to furnish coffins for those that perished, and food for those that survive.

Monday, 21st. New literary chancellor. Wang Chih, the new literary chancellor, arrived at the provincial city on the 10th inst., and received the seals of his office on the 18th. Keu, who has held the office since the death of Le, set off for Peking yesterday.

Tuesday, 29th. New British Authorities in China. From the Canton Register extraordinary, of the 26th, "published by authority," we make the following extract containing his Majesty's commission to the new authorities.

WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM the FOURTH, by the Grace of God, of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the faith, King of Hanover, &c. To our Right trusty and well beloved William John, LORD NAPIER, and to our trusty and well beloved William Henry Chicheley Plowden and John Francis Davis, Esquires, GREETING: WHEREAS by a certain act of Parliament made and passed in the third and fourth year of our Reign, intituled "an act to regulate the trade to China and India," it is amongst other things enacted that it shall and may be lawful for us by any commission or commissions, warrant or warrants, under our Royal Sign Manual, to appoint not exceeding three of our subjects to be superintendents of the trade of our subjects to and from the said Dominions for the purpose of protecting and promoting such trade; and by any such commission or warrant, as aforesaid, to settle such gradations and subordination among the said superintendents, (one of whom shall be styled the chief superintendent,) and to appoint such officers to assist them in the execution of their duties, and to grant salaries to such superintendents and officers as We shall, from time to time, deem expedient; now we reposing especial confidence in the loyalty, integrity and skill of you the said William John LORD NAPIER, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, and John Francis Davis, do by these presents, in pursuance and exercise of the authority in Us vested by the said act of Parliament, appoint you, the said William John LORD NAPIER, William Henry Chicheley Plowden and John Francis Davis to be superintendents of the trade of our subjects, to and from the Dominions of the emperor of China, for the purpose of protecting and promoting such trade. And we do hereby constitute and appoint you the said William John LORD NAPIER, to be the chief superintendent, and you the said William Henry Chicheley Plowden, to be the second superintendent, and you the said John Francis Davis to be the third superintendent for the purposes as aforesaid.

The commission is dated at Brighton, December 10th, 1833.—His lordship and suite, and lady Napier and family, landed at Macao on the 15th instant. In consequence of the absence of Mr. Plowden from China, the office of second superintendent devolves on Mr. Davis, and that of the third has been accepted by sir George Best Robinson, bart. J. H. Astell esquire is secretary to the superintendents; the Rev. Dr. Morrison, Chinese secretary and interpreter; captain Charles Elliot R. N., master attendant; and Mr. T. R. College is surgeon, and Mr. Anderson is assistant surgeon. The Rev. G. H. Vachell is on his way from England to assume the duties of chaplain to the establishment. The office of private secretary to the right honorable the chief superintendent, is filled by Alexander R. Johnston.

esquire. His lordship, the second and third superintendents, the secretaries, surgeons, &c., arrived at Canton early in the morning of the 25th inst., and at daylight the British union jack was hoisted on the flag-staff in front of the dwelling formerly inhabited by the supercargoes of the honorable East India company.

Peking. A fire broke out at Peking, near the end of last May, which continued burning five days and nights. The emperor himself is said to have gone out to assist in extinguishing the flames. Innumerable houses (so the Chinese phrase it,) were burnt, and many lives were lost.—No account of the fire appears in the Peking gazettes to May 20th, or in the extracts which we have received to June 4th. The Chinese, however, believe the account to be true.

Tibetan Envoy. It has been represented to the emperor that a Kanpoo, envoy from the lama of Tibet, proceeding with tribute to Peking had been repeatedly robbed during his journey. His majesty censured the cupidity of the parties for having articles of commerce with them; and considers they suffered from having left the high road to go by more dangerous routes.

Keängsoo. A secret memorial, dated December 24th, 1833, addressed to the emperor by Lin Tsihsen, fooyuen of Keängsoo, has found its way to the public, and seems valued as a faithful patriotic state paper. Lin is an aged man, and esteemed by the monarch for his fidelity, as he has but few friends who tell him the truth. From this document it appears that Keängsoo is a productive province and is severely taxed: for in the most abundant years the farmer has but little left for himself after paying his taxes. It pays to the revenue, taking the same extent of country, as much again as Chekeäng; thrice as much as Keängse; and more than ten times as much as Hookwang.

But, there has not been one first rate year of abundance, during the last ten. Every year has been deficient, and twice or thrice they have had such inundations, as not only disabled the people from paying their taxes, but even required help from the government to preserve them alive. So frequently had the local government been compelled to implore a prolongation of time for remitting the revenue, that the government at Peking said in anger, non-payment of taxes had become the rule, instead of the exception; and the state of the finances would not admit of it. While Lin was in the very act of composing a memorial to solicit more time, in consequence of the inundations of last autumn, he received a letter from the emperor in council, and a few sentences written with the vermilion pencil, in his majesty's own hand, censuring and threatening the local government for not collecting the revenue with more severity; and accusing the governors and fooyuens of a want of gratitude for the high trust reposed in them. Lin says, when he read this, kneeling on the ground, (according to custom,) he was struck dumb with fright and vexation; but after a while, he resumed his pencil and wrote with tears. To the charge of not caring for the nation, (by which his superiors meant the government,) he argued that the people were the nation; and he who cared for their lives and comforts, could not be regardless of that. All that the government possessed came from the people, and attention to them was the first duty of a statesman. But who could withstand a continued series of natural calamities, such as they had experienced for ten years? All that could be done to spare the imperial exchequer had been done by "admonitory orders" to the rich inhabitants, to subscribe for the poor. In the 3d year of Taonkwang, the province had subscribed one million nine hundred and fifty thousand taels of silver. And in the 11th year, they had subscribed one million four hundred thousand taels. These were years of great calamity. But every year they had subscribed something; their subscriptions, however, the oftener repeated became the less, and attended with more difficulty. Towards the close of the document, the aged statesman, says he, was reduced to a hearty fit of crying; "voice and tears were blended" as he wrote, for he was completely at his wits' end. He could not withhold the truth from the imperial ear.—What reply his majesty made to this rather painful statement does not appear.

Yarkand. The resident at Yarkand has written to the emperor in behalf of foreign traders there who are allowed a trade in sheep, horses &c., without paying any duties. The natives of China often cheat the foreigners, of which he gives some instances, and desires power to punish offenders, more severely than the letter of the law, as the incensing of foreigners is a more serious matter to the state than one native cheating another.

